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1999

OUTRIT BALTISTAN
A
DISPUTED TERRITORY
OR
A ' FOSSIL OF INTRIGUES '
?

GILGIT BALTISTAN

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DISPUTED TERRITORY
OR
A ' FOSSIL OF INTRIGUES '**

?

AMANULLAH KHAN

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PREFACE

Gilgit-Baltistan once an isolated and adventurous tourist spot for rugged-nature admirers now stands introduced to the outside world, with a new perspective, after the Karakorum High Way has been commissioned, the tussle over Siachin Glacier and heightened sectarian unrest in the area. Yet the mountain region has a political connotation of its own because of its strategic location. No doubt, every strategist has politically yield the issue of the mountain-man. The way, Government of Pakistan awarded Sitara-e-Pakistan to pre-partitioned British Indian army officer, Major Brown, on 23rd March 1994,¹ for his part in " Gilgit Game " is again an incident of this category.

This book is an attempt to expose the unending story of intrigues perpetrated on the mountain people. The story is interwoven with the

¹ Please see " The News " (daily) Pakistan, March 19, 1994.

fundamental issue in South Asia -- "Kashmir ". But there is a real difficulty to understand Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan issue, given the religious background of the people of the Sub-continent and mountain peoples.

No doubt, the people of Sub-continent are bound to understand the Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan issue on religious lines, because, the creation of India and Pakistan, the division of Sub-continent was carried out by British rulers on religious lines. The stagnant caste-system, the irremediable social organism of the Sub-continent, was yet another factor, the intrinsic nature to limit the social vision into primitive religious dogmatism.

Obviously, the truth is beyond these limits. It is within the Rivalry Game of British India and Tsarist Russia, which was being played by these two Western powers to dominate Central Asia. But this rivalry has been totally ignored by the Indian and Pakistani ruling circles. And there is a reason for it: Division of Sub-continent came into being because of

British political manoeuvring and not because of the struggle of Muslim League or Indian National Congress as is being preached so far. Political power has descended from British hands not as a result of genuine political struggle. Thus Kashmir/and Gilgit-Baltistan issue came into being without the independent political participation of the parties concerned. This has eventually stopped them to understand the issue on original lines.

The inability to understand the real nature of the political issue, for the ruling elite as well as those of in India and Pakistan is understandable: How a people whose national identity, and dignity, was ruined by foreign invaders repeatedly can differentiate between Freedom and Transfer of Power; between creation of two countries and creation of the same on the basis of religion.

As long as the people of Sub-continent continue to understand the political phenomenon in the existing perspective, the Kashmir/Gilgit and Baltistan issue will always project itself as a political illusion.

It is for this reason understanding of Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan issue on religious lines is slowly but steadily pushing it into the political arena of Fundamentalism.

To explore Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan issue in rational perspective demands renunciation of the orthodox and emotional political out-look mentioned above.

The present attempt to analyse the Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan issue, is being made on new lines. With exposition of Gilgit-Baltistan issue, this inquiry demands of the local people to liberate themselves from existing dogmatic political perceptions.

**HUNZA,
N.A's of Pakistan.**

**AMANULLAH KHAN
December 17, 1994.**

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION:

FAIRY WORSHIPPERS CONFRONT POLITICAL INTRIGUES

A new 'political island' is emerging at the rendezvous of Karakoram, Hindukush and northwestern Himalaya. The mountain knot, when seen from an aeroplane looks like a sea of mountains, and when seen from the valley, reflects the ferocity and mightiness of collision of the Indian and Euro-Asian continents "some forty millions years ago. The collision had uplifted the high Tibetan plateau and raised the Himalayas.¹" The wilderness and ruggedness of each mountain in the region tells the story of "shifting, shuddering, hot-hearted planet on which we ride."² Western geologists, surveyors, and mountaineers recently named the peaks, ranges and mountains, which had been the home of fairies for mountain man. It was natural to call these mountains the home of gods, for Inca, Andeans (Peru-Latin America) also worshipped the mountains as gods. The reason for worship is understandable. "For the mountains were merely the home of the

¹ National Geographic, Jan 1973, Page 15, Vol. 143, No.1 Washington D.C, USA.

² Ibid, Page, 347

gods: they, literally, were the gods and could kill with avalanche, rock fall, lightening, blizzard, and wind or bless with rain-filled clouds pouring life into rivers and lakes." ³

The same civilized Western people who never exposed the political tragedy of these fairy-worshippers, found the living fossils of ancient ethnic groups and their languages trapped in this "mysterious far-off land" ⁴ of the Dards, Balti, Wakhi, and Burusho.

Silent, ever-sleeping nature of the sacred peaks characterize the primitiveness and counter-evolutionary nature of the fairy worshippers. Only after the construction of the Karakorum Highway and the subsequent impact on the life-pattern of these mountain people, the ruggedness and stillness of these mountains has been challenged. Particularly, the war over Siachen Glacier between India and Pakistan and recent religious sectarianism are symptoms of socio-political changes for 'the disputed people of Gilgit-Baltistan.' The region is under the control of the Government of Pakistan which calls it Northern Areas of Pakistan.

³ National Geographic, P 87, Vol. 181, No. 3, Mar, 1992,

⁴ History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Dr. A.H. Dani, Islamabad, 1989. (Historical Geography, Introduction)

The latest Indian stand on the political solution of Gilgit-Baltistan is: "Gilgit-Baltistan was the frontier-post of Maharaja of Kashmir before partition, merger of this area with Pakistan is as much treacherous as division of the Indian sub-continent by Britishers, and therefore Pakistan should quit its (Indian) territory." "Muslims of Gilgit-Baltistan got freedom through armed struggle from the Maharaja of Kashmir and voluntarily joined Pakistan is the official stand of Pakistan". "Give us constitutional rights equivalent to other parts of Pakistan is the general demand of the people of Gilgit-Baltistan".

Pakistan cannot give constitutional rights to the Muslims of Gilgit-Baltistan for legal complications involved with India over the Kashmir dispute. Hence, Pakistan calls for moral and political assistance of Kashmiri Muslims in Sirinagar and to detract the growing constitutional awareness in Gilgit-Baltistan, sectarian division are the delaying tactics of Islamabad.

Apart from general masses, comparatively politically conscious strata of society are unable to understand the political solution of their land, hence, they are seeking political solution on religio-sectarian lines. Shia Muslim majority demand their land to be a province of Pakistan. In case of a province through majority parliamentary seats, they dream to get the seat of governorship. Comparatively minority Sunni Muslims demand themselves to be a part of

Muzafarabad administration____the Pakistan controlled Kashmir. This way, with Sunni majority in Muzafarabad, they dream to get key administrative posts. Pakistan itself wishes more local-oriented administrative power in the existing set-up like the Muzafarabad model.

Ignoring the political passiveness of the general masses of the area, let us see the futility of the afore-mentioned demands presented by conscious layers of the society and Government of Pakistan's generosity. Obviously, the solution of more local administrative power offered by Pakistan is a disguised attempt to strengthen the bureaucratic machinery in the name of more local freedom. The demand to be a part of Muzafarabad administration is unacceptable to Government of Pakistan, because, in such a reshuffle, a strategically important territory voluntarily merged with Pakistan, turns into an additional part of disputed Kashmir. The demand for a province of Pakistan, apparently the most genuine solution to Government of Pakistan and people of the area, is a political illusion, rather than a practical solution. But, luckily, this demand points to the conspiracy and myth behind the voluntary annexation of the area to Pakistan, the force behind the armed struggle against the forces of Maharaja of Kashmir, the way Pakistan managed to control the area without constitutional obligations; the way Pakistan and India were dragged into Kashmir dispute; the strategic importance of Gilgit-Baltistan for British

India; the safeguarding of British interests against Tsarist Russia.

It is really a pity that innocent fairy-worshippers of Gilgit-Baltistan don't have a simple political solution. They are 100% Muslim and have voluntarily joined Pakistan____the homeland of Muslims and their land should be a constitutional part of Pakistan, but, unfortunately, it is not so. And it can not be. Their seemingly most genuine demand turns out to be a political illusion. The simple demand points towards political intrigues and a web of political conspiracies just mentioned above. It is a political riddle, but why is it so ? The fact is that the innocent people of Gilgit-Baltistan have been turned into a piece of life-less mountain. These mountains in reality are the bricks of the walls to protect the interests of British India. The wild huge mountains____seemingly ever-sleeping____are full of dynamism and action; ever protecting the interests of by gone British colonizers in the Indian sub-continent and Central Asia. They made these mountains alongwith people their slaves through war, domination and diplomacy and called it the "Great Game". So, it is obviously imperative that we understand the part of the "Great Game" played here in Gilgit-Baltistan to evolve the correct political solution of the problem of Gilgit-Baltistan people.

The `newly emerging political island' has such an unseen political dimension. Without understanding

this dimension, it will be a political mystery for ever.

Still more painfully, it is imperative to understand briefly the reasons behind the evolution of British colonial power on a small island of Europe which turns mightiest mountains into bricks of wall to protect its interests. Without understanding the organism of the evolution of such a power, the mystery behind the might and evil-geniusness of these evil angels____the British colonizers can not be visualized.

THE EVOLUTION OF WHITE ANGELS

They captured America, Africa, and Asia, but these white angels were, initially, Barbarians, similar to other Aryans. They settled in Britain and were called Anglo-Saxons. These Germanic tribes were different from other Aryan tribes, they were intelligent enough to choose a green, plain and temperate land like England. It was a more healthy physical environment compared to Tharparkar desert and Himalayan mountains chosen by their sisterly Indian Aryan tribes. Biological needs of Anglo-Saxons were more easily satisfied compared to Indian Aryans in such a natural environment that conditioned man to challenge natural forces.

The land of Anglo-Saxons, now called England, had enormous numbers of rivers, enough rainfall,

temperate marine climate, and, above all, flat landscape to facilitate and develop an agricultural system based on private ownership of land. The individual ownership of agricultural land was the cause to improve agricultural tools, which gave birth to dynamic primitive market based on agricultural products. This in turn urged to develop a non-centralized political authority of feudal lords. The social system thus-structured was opposite to independent village communities of Indian Aryans, where, self-sufficient village economy based on collective ownership of land gave birth to centralized political authority of Rajas and Kings, hence, the typical caste system of Indian Aryans. Such is the mystery behind the stagnant social structure of Indian caste system revealed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Caste system was created by Indian Aryans under the influence of the physical environment of Indian soil. The scarcity of rivers, minimum precipitation, harsh climate, deserts and mountain terrain___the opposite of Anglo-Saxon soil___created stagnant caste system which was temptative to the Central Asian and British conquerors.

Still, Anglo-Saxons, not modern British conquerors, used wooden stools for sitting___a sense of command over nature; wrote erect alphabet, a potential to plan and change nature which is not the case with Indian Aryans who are submissive before nature. The Indian Aryans failed to show such

a commanding sign. Again, real command is reflected not only in these signs, rather, in the case of the cultural fore-fathers of the modern British people, the commanders or masters of Greek and Roman slaves. These forefathers were bearers of vitality and at the stage of barbarism they used barbaric and almost bestial means to extricate themselves from barbarism. In short, they invented slavery and left behind barbarism. It was a decisive change for the progress of the society. The labour of Greek and Roman slaves materialised into Greek and Roman empires, and ultimately, modern Europe came into existence.

Obviously, *the old communities*, with collective ownership of pastures, herds, domestic utensils, and agricultural land were free and equal among themselves and the invention of slavery caused the destruction of Barbarian stage of equality, co-operation and other healthy moral values. It is also a fact that before the stage of slavery, these old communities were an easy prey to merciless forces of nature. Now, under slavery, the slave labour created science, arts, state, law, increased productive forces and an extended trade, and hence, equipped the defenseless old barbarian communities with defying abilities before nature. Civilized slaves with minimum substances of life were more secure than defenseless barbarians in front of cruel forces of nature. Moreover, now no prisoner-of-war was eaten as was the case at the stage of barbarism or roasted

at the stage of savagery. These prisoners-of-war were turned into instruments of labour (slaves) to create Greek and Roman empires. So, in this sense, invention of slavery on behalf of cultural patriarchs of globe-conquering Britishers was a great step forward.

The passive Indian Aryan barbarians continued their old defenseless communities and were unable to leap forward like Greeks and Romans, invented Domestic Slavery at the most. Such a contrast is the reason for the vitality of the stagnant Indian caste system.

Greek and Roman slaves created the most developed state and the leaders of statecraft like Alexander the Great and Caesar who dared and succeeded to conquer the world. It is for this reason we see in history no Indian with such courage and determination under a rotten caste system.

Historically leaping, sociologically dynamic spirit of cultural patriarchs of Britishers never stopped at any stage of history. Now, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Jutes, Franks, Anglo-Saxons and other German barbarians destroyed the last slavery system. They destroyed the Roman Empire. The Germans, "the new race, masters as well as servants, was a race of men compared with its Roman predecessors. The relation of powerful land-lords and serving peasants, which for the later had been the hopeless form of the decline of the world of antiquity, was now for the

former the starting point of a new development. Moreover, unproductive as these four hundred years appear to have been, they nevertheless, left one great product behind them: the modern nationalities, the refashioning and regrouping of West European humanity for impending history. The Germans, infact, had infused new life into Europe".⁵

The German barbarians, the brothers of Anglo-Saxons, while destroying slavery system alongwith the Roman Empire had actually infused new vitality into the dying Europe and also had rejuvenated it. In India, nothing like that happened. And this dynamic character of European society played decisive role in the evolution of White Angels____the Britishers.

Dynamic Europe had already evolved into cities in northern Italy before new Europe created by German barbarians. It had the coastal cities like Venice, Florence, Geneva and Milan which were prosperous trade centers. Here, autonomous republics of traders had been set-up and these republics had comparatively escaped the invasion of German tribes. These cities of trade had woolen, silk, glass, ship-building and embroidery factories.

⁵ Fredrick Engles, the Origin of Family, Private Property and the State, Page 256, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. (sixth impression)

The republics of traders as a result of the slave labour of the Roman Empire and their continuation after the creation of new Europe by German barbarians is unparalleled healthy social development compared to other parts of the world including India. It is in these prosperous wealthy city-republics of traders where Europe again rejuvenated; the Renaissance of Europe had started.

Who initiated Renaissance? The cultural prophets of Europe. "Who would dare change the arms of god on the first day of creation? Michelangelo. First he scribed outlines for God's arms into wet plaster with quick strokes of a sharp tool. Then he abandoned those out-lines in a flash of brush strokes. He painted God's left arm so it swept directly over-head, made that arm plunge a divine hand into the turbulent light and wrench it from the darkness".⁶

Who fiercely denounced the corrupt soul of darkness? _____ the ecclesiastics. Boccaccio. " So far as religion is concerned, while he pays conventional, orthodox respect to the Christian deity, he resolutely attacks all forms of superstition and bases his attitude to life and religious belief upon reason and experience.

6 David Jeffery, National Geographic, Washington D.C. U.S.A., Page 688, Vol. 176, No.6, Dec. 1989.

It is not so much a sceptical attitude that he adopts, as a rational clear-headedness, a determination to draw his own conclusions from observable facts and from his knowledge of how people behave in certain situations. The scathing attacks he delivers on such medieval practices as the cult of new saints and the worship of holy relics go far beyond any of the pronouncements on such issues to be found in the writings of his predecessors".⁷

Such is the contrast between the daring, secular, cultural prophets of Europe and those in the East. Such a healthy spiritual environment helped evolve brains Like Galileo___the astronomically vast brain. Renaissance of Europe___the healthiest social phenomenon on globe___gave global confidence and determination. It was personified by Christopher Columbus and Vasco de Gama. They tamed one of the wildest forces of nature, the oceans, besides defeating the vastness of globe. The tamed oceans and defeated vastness of globe helped tame yet another force of nature. This new force of nature to be tamed was the peoples of Asia, Africa and America. Europeans tamed these people and the process was called colonisation. Erroneously. The state, law, army, economic levers, political and

⁷ Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, Translated by. G.H. Mc William. (Translators Introduction), Page 24, 1971, Penguin Classics.

cultural heritage at the apparent end of colonisation are the chains for the tamed peoples of the third world.

Yes, Europeans tamed another force of nature____the very people of the third world. These people are not wild like oceans, instead, they are more evolved and more productive, compared to oceans.

During the process, less evolved people were being tamed, the more evolved people evolved further. The Europeans evolved further because they developed large armies to control the wealth of tamed ones. They built new factories with this wealth in their own home. That helped to evolve further.

But, it is one side of the story that helped develop large armies and economic empires. The other side is the evolution of the same inside Europe itself. The Hundred Years War between England and France, religious war of Thirty Years in Germany, and other such prolonged and intensive wars between feudal lords, between emperors, between lords and kings helped evolve world-dominating armies. Similarly, the economic empires came into being when agricultural production under feudal lords was replaced by industrial production of middle class____the new rulers of Europe.

These new rulers emerged after a long social revolution against the feudal system of Europe.

First, these new rulers___the middle class of Europe___fought against the sacred central organization of feudal system, the Roman Catholic church, which had organized its own hierarchy on the feudal model and owned one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. The fight against the Catholic church resulted in the development of the Protestant Movement, known as Reformation. The Reformation was *inner-wardly asceticism and rationalism* ⁸ of would-be rulers of Europe. It was the ideological weapon to fight the international center of feudalism with___the Catholic Church. When German Martin Luther " raised the war cry against the Church in 1517, it was responded to by two insurrections of a political nature: first, that of a lower nobility under Franz Von Sickingen, 1523, then the great Peasant War, 1525. But both were defeated and degenerated into fight between the local princes and the central power, and ended by blotting out Germany; for two hundred years, from the politically active nations of Europe".⁹

⁸ The Social Science Encyclopedia, edited by. Adam Kupper and Jessica Kupper, Services Book Club, 1989. (Pakistan) Page. 737.

⁹ Fredric Engles, Page 244, Introduction to Socialism: Utopian and Scientific; Marx, Engles, Lenin on Historical

" But, besides the German Luther, appeared the Frenchman, Calvin. With true French acuity he put the bourgeois character of the Reformation in the fore-front, republicanised and democratized the church. While the Lutheran Reformation in Germany degenerated and reduced the country to rack and ruin, the Calvinist Reformation served as a banner for the republicans (middle class) in Geneva, in Holland and in Scotland, freed Holland from Spain and from the German Empire". ¹⁰

Secondly, middle class revolution under the banner of Calvinist Reformation occurred in England. In this country, feudal lords co-operated with middle class. HENRY VII broke away with the pope at Rome and changed England from Catholic to Protestant country. He created fresh middle class by whole sale seizing the church lands. He also helped the middle class by turning thousands of acres into pasture land which was rented to farmers. Now the sheep on these pastures created woolen goods for the British middle class. The woolen goods were to be exported, so he created Royal Navy, which was the first step for England's development as a modern maritime

Materialism, (a collection), Moscow, 1976, 3rd printing.

¹⁰ Fredric Engles, Page 236, Introduction to Socialism: Utopian and Scientific; Marx, Engles, Lenin on Historical Materialism (a collection), Moscow, 1976, 3rd printing.

power. The co-operation of Feudals and Kings in England with middle class is a unique phenomenon in the evolution of British New Rulers, but it was not smooth all the time. " After 1603, however, the Stuart Kings' attempts to rule by divine right brought about the Puritan Revolution. (The puritans were dissenting protestants different from Separatist Protestants, who appeared during Elizabeth I - 1558-1603). Charles I was executed, and England temporarily became a common-wealth under Oliver Cromwell."¹¹

Cromwell, the leader of British middle class, ruled with the help of his army from 1649 to 1659, but again monarchy was restored under Charles II. The fight of British new Rulers against feudalism continued and only "after the Bill of Rights of 1689, the supremacy of parliament over the throne, and first truly representative government of Modern Europe was created".¹² "Then the repeal of the Corn Laws, settled once for all, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie (Middle Class), and specially of its most active portion, the manufacturers over the landed aristocracy. This was the greatest victory of the

¹¹ Page 485, Struggle for Supremacy, Merit Students Encyclopedia, Mc Milan Educational Corporation, USA, Vol. 6.

¹² Ibid page 485.

bourgeoisie".¹³

But it was not the complete triumph of the New-Rulers of Europe, and that occurred after the Great French Revolution of 14 July, 1789.

[Two centuries ago beginning July, (14th July 1989)' when times were not good, "Joy of Life" turned into "Joy in death " ____ to the brutal killing that marked the French Revolution. Heads rolled like overripe apples in a fall storm. When the guillotine couldn't keep up, shootings and drownings by the bargeful took up the overload while crowds cheered.

The revolution gave us words and concepts that will not die; guerrillas, revolutionary armies, leftists and rightists, counter revolutionaries. More important, it gave the world the goal of liberty, equality and fraternity for all.]¹⁴

The above remarks are made by the Editor of National Geographic, Wilbur E. Garrett, while commenting on the Bicentennial of French Revolution.

¹³ Page 249, Fredrick Engles, Introduction to Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Marx, Engel, Lenin on Historical Materialism (A collection), Moscow, 1976, 3rd printing.

¹⁴ National Geographic, Vol. 176. No. 1, July 1989. USA., Page 3.

American remarks show the essence of Great French Revolution. These are true because "the birth of the United States, for the American Revolution almost certainly would have failed without the military and financial support of France, and the French Revolution".¹⁵

But, "The effects of the French Revolution and Napoleon (Product of Revolution) on Europe were great. Nationalism spread to other countries of Europe. Financial power began to shift from the privileged class (Feudal Lords and Kings) to the bourgeois (new rulers) capitalists. Napoleon terminated the life of the Holy Roman Empire, and the medieval unity of Church and the State was destroyed. After the French Revolution the church was a relatively minor factor in the history of Europe".¹⁶

This is how New rulers of Europe were evolved during the fight against feudalism. They fought this social battle to protect the industrial production of the middle class. Yet, the industrial production which was the material cause to implement the supremacy of middle class over feudal class is solely obligatory

¹⁵ Page 50, National Geographic Vol.176. No.1, July 1989. USA.

¹⁶ Merit Students Encyclopedia, Mc Milan Educational Corporation, Vol. 6. 1974, USA. Page. 487

to Scientific Inventions____the cruel weapons in the hands of man to fight blind forces of nature. The original heroes, who created New Rulers of Europe and their industrial products were the scientific inventions inside Europe.

The industrial economic empires and world-conquering armies, the most powerful organs of defence and offence like the claws and paws of leopard to fight and protect itself against nature were evolved by the rebellious scientists.

The point here to be understood is not of which scientific invention was first or last, nor, how these inventions were applied to particular industrial production; on the country it is: why scientific inventions were only possible in Europe? The most clear answer is the French Revolution, Renaissance and other evolutionary stages of European man and society mentioned uptill now. Absence of the same evolutionary stages in the so-called colonized world is the only reason for the impossibility of scientific inventions. And for this, the colonized peoples are defenseless creatures before the forces of nature and hence religiously dogmatic.

Without scientific inventions they are simply clawless animals before wild forces of nature, the climate, rain, heat and water etc.

Each scientific invention by European man is a

challenge to blind forces of nature and ultimately command over it. Such tools in the hands of Europeans including Britishers helped tame the so-called colonized peoples and hence they are undisputed rulers of the globe.

If man is a weak creature his tools, scientific inventions are equally strong enough to fight cruel forces of nature. For this reason, the same commanding Europeans evolved still further during world wars I,II, Russian October Revolution, Cold war and Nuclear, space, computer revolutions____the evolutionary phenomenon mainly of European and hence American nature. But these evolutionary stages after the evolution of New Rulers of Europe does not directly concern the taming of Karakorum mountains and its people. So, we ignore these stages.

For now, we are in a position to understand, what type of people were those Britishers who turned the mightiest mountains and its people into bricks of walls to safeguard their interests____The Gamblers of the Great Game !

CHAPTER - II

THE WILDEST ARENA OF THE GREAT GAMBLERS AND THE GREAT GAME

Virgin nature___the land of mother goddesses___the Fairies, the "Wildest arena"¹⁷ of the Great Game, is host of the Roman goddess of love and beauty___the Venus. Local Burusho symbolize it with 'Star of Youth'. At early dawns of summer, it appears high up in the eastern horizon, the commanding beauty, ordering the equilibrium between day and night. Before radiant beauty the sky is desolate theater, but mid-night when you gaze at clear sky, the glamorous festivity of galaxy and stars invite you to heavenly dance. You feel an ecstatic shock for being detached from Earth.

Ever-smiling, ever-dancing the sky above you is a periodically changing colorful slide, after the disappearance of moon. The way disappearing moon radiates gorges, excites fairies to illuminate their Temples of Love among the mountains.

Such is the story of the night, but the story of the day, the reality is deceitful Great Game in Gilgit-Baltistan. Nevertheless, the end result of the Great

¹⁷ Introduction, The Gilgit Game, Page 2, John Keay, Karachi, 1990.

Game is concealed, the existing colonization of Gilgit-Baltistan. The elegant nature at night may veil the coarseness of mountains, but the taming of mountains and its people speaks about the least-known Great Game.

But what is the great Game itself ? First of all, it is "the century-long rivalry between Russia and British India for control of Central Asia. The phrase had been coined back in the 1830s but came into common usage about 1870___the word was bandied about as loosely as, more recently, 'Scene'".¹⁸ "The Great Game has often been compared with Cold-War of the 1950s and 1960s. In both cases war as an instrument of policy was used sparingly and global explosion that threatened never materialized. A safer out-let for imperial aggression was found in trying to secure a favorable alignment of minor powers and thus outmanoeuver the opposition. In the Great Game, China (although itself an empire), Afghanistan and Persia all provided ideal ground for such jockeying. So too, in the early days, did the Khanates of Central Asia and subsequently, the mountain states of the Western Himalayas".¹⁹

"Again like the Cold war, the Great Game was

¹⁸ Page 1, 2. (Introduction), The Gilgit Game, John Keay, Karachi, 1990.

¹⁹ Ibid, Page 2

played, or fought, over a vast area and at many different levels. Any clash of British and Russian interests east of the Balkans had a bearing on the game. The action had a way of shifting unpredictably from a concourse of statesmen in Europe to a sudden shunting of troops in the Hindukush".²⁰

Secondly, what part of the Great Game was played in Gilgit-Baltistan? "What was true of the Great Game also went for its Gilgit sector; the process of geographical and political penetration only makes sense when seen in the broadest possible context. Yet, Gilgit was surely the wildest arena in which the Game was played. Diplomatic activity had to wait on the deliberations of military strategists and these in turn waited on the process of exploration. Because of the political vacuum in the area, the movements of explorers and agents could themselves constitute a valid claim to territory, and their chance friendship and difficulties could have the most far-reaching repercussions; it would be in the mountains around Gilgit that the two imperial frontiers came closest to collision".²¹

We are thus thankful to John Keay, the unbiased researcher, who for the first time explored

²⁰ John Key, *The Gilgit Game*, Introduction, (1990),
Page 2.

²¹ *Ibid* Page, 2,3.

and gave us a precise definition of the most-concealed colonial issue, the Great Game and the part played in Gilgit-Baltistan. Yet, similar to other western scholars, he didn't care to expose the existing political mystery____The ultimate result of the Game.

However, the taming of the mightiest mountains and its people, the process of the so-called colonization evolved as a Great Game under the influence of existing unique environment, the environment was:

- a: "The most challenging terrain in the world, the core of western Himalayas ". ²²
- b: The unique strategic location, bordering Afghanistan, British India, China and Russia.
- c: The rivalry between two western powers for the control of central Asia.

The heterogeneity of such a situation urged the complex yarn of military strategy, diplomatic manoeuvring and exploration to spin a web of deceit

and intrigue____the Complex Game. The Game is more mystic at the apparent end, the stage of political deception for mountain peoples, nevertheless, the start is more unusual.

THE NEED TO COLONIZE GILGIT-BALTISTAN

There was no gold, neither the mountain peoples feared the invaders as divine, similar to Aztec when Spaniards invaded Tenochtitlan (Mexico city) in 1519, ²³ nevertheless, the excuses offered by Britishers for the colonization of mountain peaks of Gilgit-Baltistan are next to divine concepts. The concepts of Gate Way to India, Flash Point of Asia, Fulcrum of Asia, Russian Menace, Prowling Russian bear, the safety of northern frontiers of British India, etc, etc, befogs the minds of Fairy Worshipers to understand the causes of invasion of their mountain peaks in the hands of Britishers. Yet the truth for taming the mountains and its people is very simple. The Britishers colonized Gilgit-Baltistan to use it as a base for the control of central Asia. The credit for exposing the very bare truth goes to the American, John Keay.

"Under Northbrook the Gilgit Game had been inaugurated with an eye to events in Sinkiang. It was

²³ Supplement to the National Geographic, February 1992, page 90 A, Vol.181, No.2--Spain in the Americas.

now to be subordinated to Afghan policy".²⁴

What are these "events in Sinkiang". and "Afghan Policy"? Let us just briefly mention them. First "events in Sinkiang":

The Kashghar base to interfere in Central Asia was unsafe in the hands of Kanjut raiders. For this reason, Col. Gordon in 1873, the British explorer, defined it as below: [Regarding Pamir (Central Asia) Gardon presented Kashghar in the light of new military strategy____ "Fertile base for supply in the wake of Westward Advance".]²⁵ Because of such an importance the ruler of Kashghar base, Yakub Beg already in 1866, "promised that he will check the raiding Kirghizi and Hunza pirates to loot the tea caravans and will safeguard the Leh's Trade Routes"²⁶ for Britishers. The trade routes being Leh---Kashghar---Central Asia.

The other vital factor in the Gilgit Game, the Afghan dimension or "Afghan policy" is summarized by John Keay as below: "Biddulph's plan for the

²⁴ Page 99, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

²⁵ Page 147, Dr. Devandra Koshk, Soviet Central Asia, Past and Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, (Urdu) 1976.

²⁶ Ibid, Page 139.

defence of the Hindukush had been adopted as a convenient means of breathing down the Amir's neck".²⁷ The poor Amir is Amir of Kabul and the defence of Hindukush means capturing the Chitral-Brugul Pass, Yasin-Darkut Pass, Ishkoman Pass and Hunza-Kilik Pass,²⁸ also Biddulph is captain Biddulph,* the A.D.C. to Lord Northbrook. Hence the colonisation of Gilgit was necessitated by the colonization of Afghanistan, and why Afghanistan needed to be captured? The answer is being provided by Dr. A.H. Dani: "In the first half of the nineteenth century and even later Afghanistan was the top priority in the British mind, not for the sake of that country, but with an eye towards the Russian bear, who was then thought (not actually) to prowl in that direction following the easily accessible known historical path".²⁹ The Indian author supports Dr. A.H. Dani: "Afghanistan stood as a special place for British expansion in Central Asia. From Afghanistan Britain was trying to enter into Turkamanistan. Britain started the First Afghan war in the forties of

²⁷ Page, 99,100, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

²⁸ Ibid Page 88

²⁹ Page 244, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

* Biddulph was the first officer on special duty in Gilgit, from 1878 to 1881.

nineteenth century, but at that time Russia was far away from British Indian frontiers". ³⁰

Once again, the Indian author supports Dr. Dani on the following clear grounds: Rawlinson, the member of the Council which advised the Secretary of State for India and Vice President of Royal Geographic Society writes, [Britain "at the end of fourth decade (of 19th century) was preparing to capture Shignan in the north of Hindukush and then to advance onwards Bokhara".] ³¹

Hence apparently, Gilgit-Baltistan became a part of main bases of Kashghar and Afghanistan, yet it was itself an important base for interference in Central Asia. According to John Keay, the loneliest and most vulnerable pawn on the entire imperial chess board___ Bidulph in Gilgit: "one of his main functions was to collect political intelligence. He organized a network of agents that extended well into Russian Central Asia and through the pages of Gilgit Diary, a regular round-up of political developments, he conscientiously relayed their

³⁰ Page 61, Dr. Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976. (Urdu).

³¹ Ibid, Page 45

reports to the Indian Foreign Department".³² The network of agents, or the exploration was the basis for military strategy, which in turn provided basis for diplomatic activity.

British used Gilgit mountains and its Hindukush passes as a base for the control of Central Asia, but unfortunately they could not capture Central Asia. This imperial defeat was compensated by the Hindukush passes. For now after colonization of Gilgit-Baltistan, the British presence behind Hindukush passes practically breathed down the Amir's neck. The Amir was tamed now to keep his territory in the North of Hindukush as buffer-zone between British India and Tsarist Russia.

Such a Buffer zone necessity, first proposed by British, turned Gilgit-Baltistan and Chitral into their permanent base. This simple fact is the core of British Interest to keep Gilgit-Baltistan as their base and for that they fully colonized it.

The outcry of defence of India is meaningless, how the looters of India can claim the defenders of the same. It is in this context, that all the concepts of Gate Way to India, Northern Frontiers of British India etc. are shields to hide the crimes of Britishers against Indians and the people of Gilgit-Baltistan.

³² Page 101, 102, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

Russian threat to colonize India, which echoed from each corner of the Great Game, had been proved baseless.

THE MYTH BEHIND THE RUSSIAN THREAT

John Keay analyzing the thoughts of Algy Durand, the most aggressive supporter of "Forward Policy", concludes that if all practical aspects of Russian advance through Hindukush were rationally considered, "it would scarcely have altered the course of history".³³ Simply, aggressors like Durand were determined to capture Gilgit-Baltistan, whether Russian threat existed or not.

The propaganda campaign regarding Russian threat to British India continued even after Pamirs' frontier being settled between Russia and British India. John Keay exposes the myth behind such threat. "Retired Indian officers often maintained that the Great Game was still being played in 1930s, but in Gilgit, with Pamirs' frontier finally settled and with Chitral no longer its responsibility, anxieties over proximity of Russia were purely theoretical if not imaginary".³⁴ The Russian threat in other parts of the world continued and was intensified during Cold War, but again, the truth has been recently exposed at the

³³ John Keay, *Gilgit Game*, Page: 200, Karachi. 1990.

³⁴ Page, 263. John Keay, *Gilgit Game*, Karachi, 1990.

end of the Cold War by Jeffery Smith, Chairman, Joint Security Commission: ["We are spending far too much protecting against threats for which we have almost no evidence, Russian agents climbing over the fence at 2:00 in the morning", said Jeffery Smith, Chairman, Joint Security Commission.]³⁵ The special commission headed by Jeffery Smith thus unveiled a major overhaul of US Government's security procedures before the meeting of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

It is no wonder that Americans had to admit the myth behind the Soviet threat at the end of the Cold war, but Jawahir Lal Nehro exposed the reality behind the Russian threat successfully in 1928 in his writings named "Soviet Russia" on page 191. The Indian specialist of the Great Game quotes Pundit Nehro: "Our upbringing had been carried on in the atmosphere of anti-Russia and it has been exaggerated by England. For many centuries we were frightened with Russian attack and enough wealth was wasted on our arms deployment on this excuse. During the Tsars we were told that Russian imperialism was advancing due south to have an access to oceans,Tsar has been wiped out but rivalry between England and Russia continues. Now we are told that there is threat to India from Soviet

³⁵ Daily "The News" (Pakistan), 5 March 1994---Reuter.

Government".³⁶

Many people may not regard seriously the above remarks of Pundit Nehro, for he was a friend of Soviet Union, but history denies the myth behind Russian threat against British India.

The historical proofs thoroughly furnished by the Indian Specialist are about the refusal of Tsarist Russia to help many missions sent by Indians. These different missions had one request: To seek help from Russia to overthrow British rule in India.

First, the Maharaja of Kashmir, Rambhir Singh sent two missions, in 1865 and 1870 to Tashkent. Secondly, Raja of Indore sent his mission to Tashkent in 1866. Thirdly, Guru Charan Singh on behalf of Sikhs sent his mission in 1879 to Tashkent. Fourthly, Indian State of Gwalior and Jaypur sent their missions to Turkistan in 1879 and 1880. Fifthly, Mir of Hunza, Safdar Ali Khan sent his mission to Tashkent in 1891.³⁷

³⁶ Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow. Page 78, 1976 (Urdu)

³⁷ Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House Moscow, 1976 (Urdu) (The details of all these Five missions are being given by Dr. Koshok on pages. 128,129 and 130.)

Requests of all these different missions from India and Hunza were same: To seek help from Russia to get rid of British colonization. Tsarist Russia rejected the requests of all these missions. That is undeniable proof for the myth behind Russian threat to British India. The details of all these missions have been narrated by the Indian specialist, but the last and clearest proof according to the same Indian researcher is the refusal of Russian government to sell their machinery for the establishment of factories in India. Russians also refused to provide military training to Indian youths in Russia. These requests have been made by Indian patriot Tilak in 1879, with Russian counsellors. These counsellors had met on Bombay sea port, when, for the first time, Russian fleet anchored there. When the above requests were being rejected, the Indian author concludes, " The myth behind the Russian threat to India was exposed, and it clearly indicated that the threat was an excuse for British aggression in Central Asia".³⁸

³⁸ Devandra Koshok, *Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present*, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, Page 132. 1976, (Urdu).

THE UNEXPLORED DIMENSION OF THE GREAT GAME ____ THE DEFENCE OF COLONIAL INTERESTS DUE TO BUFFER ZONE:

The twisted facts under the name of the Great Game are slowly unveiling themselves. Fortunately, it is clear now that the sinister propaganda behind the Russian threat was orchestrated to veil the British aggression in Central Asia. The colonization of fairy mountains was necessitated to use mountain passes as a base for the control of Central Asia. Also, the British occupationists used these bases behind the Hindukush to bring to knees the Amir of Kabul. He needed to be tamed to keep the areas under his control as Buffer zone for two imperial colonists. But why Britishers and Russians needed this Buffer zone? It is the least-known aspect for those who suffered the most ____ particularly the innocent peoples of Gilgit-Baltistan. The generally accepted answer for the above-made question is: Britain and Russia needed the Buffer Zone to avoid confrontation in Central Asia. No! It is one aspect, the other untold aspect is that these colonists needed Buffer Zone to keep in ' legal chains ' the people whose land has been occupied.

The people were forced to forget about their freedom and not to revolt against the colonists using the legal chains of Buffer zone. The people who are tamed through such a legal conspiracy are the peoples of this Buffer Zone, the people in the north

and south of the Buffer zone____The Central Asians, the people of Wakhan and the people of Gilgit-Baltistan.

This Buffer Zone, seemingly a neutral zone, is actually the Anglo-Russian military base veiled behind the diplomatic decisions of that time.

Military bases installed by decisive powers in less-developed countries change their outlook according to existing situations of particular countries or regions. But the function of these bases is same. The bases help those who install to influence the developing countries' internal policy and to bring against each other the opponents, besides frightening and blackmailing. Upto 1985 there were 1600 military bases, and installations with a total of more than 500,000 personnel of U.S.A in 34 foreign countries and their overseas territories. And most of them in developing countries. Such bases are stationary, but there are rapidly moving bases. For example, Rapid Deployment Force which is subordinate to the US Central Command is for applying political Pressure and creating a threat of armed intervention in third world countries. There are world bodies, which when fail to function as independent bodies, are instantly used as military bases. The bandit-styled " neo-globalist " action of USA against Iraq using UNO, in the name of territorial integrity of Kuwait at the end of Cold War is one incident, in addition to the Somalian and

Sudanese arm twisting. American SDI programme in outer space____The land of gods, is another base in heavens to shower peace on Earth.

A radar station is a military base for two nuclear opponents. " A new radar station, one of the star wars elements, made operational in Green land recently" worries Gorbachev and he terms it the "Violation of ABM Treaty ".³⁹ Even a Chinese Test-site at Lopnor has turned out to be a military base for Central Asians. " We will demonstrate in front of the UN building for the closure of Chinese test-site at Lopnor which is near to Kazakh border and poses a real danger to the security of all Central Asia, "⁴⁰ Amantay Asyltayev, a leader of the march, told AFP. So you see how a military base dramatically changes its form but ultimately acts as a military base. It is this apparent changing nature of a military base which deceives us to identify the Buffer Zone in Pamirs as military base. More confusing about Buffer Zone is its non-weapon nature besides the united base of two opposing powers. But Buffer Zone is more efficient than the above-mentioned military bases. The unseen weapons in Buffer Zone are the Diplomatic intrigues sealed on the *tables* of Diplomats. It is ' legally constructed Time Bomb '. It

³⁹ Mikhail Gorbachev--The speech in Murmansk, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1987.

⁴⁰ Daily, The News (Pakistan), 11 March, 1994.

has kept the people of the Buffer Zone hostage to Anglo-Russian colonists, besides imperial compromise in the region. Fortunately, the Central Asians were partially released from this hostage due to the Russian October Revolution. Amir Aman ullah Khan of Kabul also released the people living in the Centre of Buffer Zone in 1919; he revolted against British domination in Afghanistan. The unfortunate people of Gilgit-Baltistan in the Southern part of Buffer Zone are still hostages to this Diplomatic Time Bomb, slightly, modified but this is the central issue to be examined in the last chapter. At present, brief evolution of the Buffer Zone deserves attention.

THE EVOLUTION OF BUFFER ZONE

Continuing the sequence of questions mentioned in the above section, one may ask why Russia did not wish to advance towards British India? Was Russia a non-aggressive power. No! It was an aggressive power. It was a colonial power similar to England. The reasons for not wishing to advance towards British India were due to its historical weakness. Russia had not gone through all those stages of European evolutionary process in contrast to England. This historical weakness could not allow to dream about British India. And why the British imperial power could not capture Central Asia for which it had struggled so hard? Ofcourse it could not, inspite of the fact that it had gone through all the stages of European Evolutionary process

discussed already under the heading: The evolution of white angels. The reasons for British failure to capture Central Asia are pre-colonial strong relationships Russia had with Central Asia.

" Trade and diplomatic relationship between Russia and Khanates of Central Asia remained almost as usual. During the next half of sixteenth century eight missions from Russia came to Central Asia. In seventeenth century twelve missions from Khiva and thirteen missions from Bukhara visited Russia. Russian missions carried valuable information about this area. The relationship between Russia and central Asia were not limited to exchange of missions and trade caravans. In seventeenth century many Uzbeks from Bukhara and Tashkent mostly traders, farmers and artisans settled in Siberia. Russian government honoured them with many privileges in Orenburg, Astrakhan and Bashkeer regions. In eighteenth century these relations were further strengthened when a part of Kazakhstan was merged with Russia on the requests of Kazakh tribes.⁴¹

Such were the Russian relations with Central Asia prior to colonization, which inevitably foiled the British attempts to capture Central Asia. These pre-

⁴¹ Page 39-40, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976. (Urdu).

colonial relationships played a decisive part to quickly colonize Central Asia in the hands of Russia, and Britain failed to challenge the Russian authority in Central Asia.

Fearing such an invincibility to challenge Russian authority in Central Asia, the Liberal leader of British government, Gladstone in 1869 for the first time proposed the idea of Buffer Zone. " He proposed a Buffer Zone in Central Asia between British and Russian regional possessions." ⁴² Both governments agreed. They further agreed " that Britain will persuade Amir of Afghanistan not to take aggressive measure in future against Bukhara and other Central Asian republics. Similarly, it was declared Russian responsibility to keep an eye over Bukhara and use all its influence for peace". ⁴³ The agreement over Buffer or Neutral Zone could not survive because Russia had proposed to include Afghanistan in the definition of Buffer Zone. But British government insisted that this definition could not be applied to Afghanistan, because Afghanistan had no definite boundaries. Diplomatic correspondence continued between the two colonial powers and finally Tsar agreed upon the British boundary definition of Afghanistan. According

⁴² Page 62, Devendra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976 (Urdu)

⁴³ Ibid Page 63

to this definition Badakhshan and Wakhan were accepted as the Northern Frontiers of Afghanistan. The decisions about the Northern Frontiers of Afghanistan was declared as an agreement of 1873. The importance of this agreement is "such that the issue of Northern Boundaries of Afghanistan was settled. According to this agreement, Britain unilaterally gained the concession to keep Afghanistan beyond the influence of Russia. But as for as the question of Buffer Zone between two powers was concerned, it was discarded in 1873 agreement. Because Britain was now planning to capture Afghanistan and hence it had no interest about the idea of Buffer Zone".⁴⁴

And how Russia safeguarded its interest in the above-mentioned two agreements. First, when the 1869 agreement was signed, the Russian interest to include Afghanistan in Buffer Zone was "that Britain should not merge Afghanistan with its Indian colony".⁴⁵ Similarly in 1873, Russia gave concession to Britain, "so that Britain should be passive when it was occupying Khiva".⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Page 64. Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, past and present, Progress publishing house Moscow, 1976 (Urdu)

⁴⁵ Ibid page 62.

⁴⁶ Page 64-65, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow,

And how much the Central Asian Region had changed up to occupation of Khiva? "During the twenty years following the Crimean war, Russia traversed 600 miles eastwards. Chimkent was occupied in 1864, Tashkent in 1865, Khojand in 1866, Yani Kurgan in 1867. The Khanate of Bukhara was brought within Russian sphere of influence in 1868, Samarqand was occupied in 1868 and the Russians entered Khiva in 1873".⁴⁷

After 1873 agreement and upto 1895, when Pamir compromise or Buffer Zone finally came into being, the small Hilly States like Badakhshan, Roshan, Shignan, Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, Yasin etc. lost their previously evolved boundaries. They lost their freedom when New Man of Europe stepped into Cave Kingdoms. Anglo-Russian diplomatic thunderstorm forced these mini-states to oscillate many times and could only receive equilibrium at the cost of Buffer Zone.

The changes experienced by the states south of Hindukush is subject of next section, we will touch the shocks observed by the states north of Hindukush here.

1976.(Urdu)

⁴⁷ Page 283, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Britain caused political earthquakes in this region using Afghanistan. "In 1884 on the instigation of Britishers Afghanistan sent its army into Panjdeh Oasis, ---consequently Afghans were defeated in a bloody clash with Russians".⁴⁸ "Britain accepted the Panjdeh Oasis as Russian captured territory. In return, Russia handed over the territory of Zulfiqar to Afghanistan".⁴⁹

"During the rule of Ripon in 1883 Afghanistan captured Roshan and Shignan under British pressure".⁵⁰ At the eve of Pamir compromise "Afghanistan handed over Roshan and Shignan to Russia. Latter on Russia handed over them to Bukhara. Bukhara in return gave a part of Darwaz which was on the left bank of River Oxus to Afghanistan".⁵¹ And how much Wakhan, the actual area to be declared as Buffer Zone jolted under this earthquake?

⁴⁸ Page 70, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House Moscow, 1976. (Urdu).

⁴⁹ Ibid Page 70.

⁵⁰ Ibid Page 153.

⁵¹ Page 73. Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia Past & Present, Progress Publishing House Moscow, 1976, (Urdu)

In 1883, when Amir Abdur Rahman forced the Mir of Wakhan to attend the Durbar of his Naib-i-Hukumat in Badakhshan under British pressure: "Ali Mardan Shah, Mir of Wakhan, at once fell on his hands and knees, and crawled through the crowded Darbar of the Naib to kiss his feet. The viceroy bade him rise and walk. 'No,' said the Mir, 'I am a dog of the God-given empire of Afghanistan. When a dog of the God comes to its master it comes on four legs not on two. So do I.' The Naib was pleased at his submission and ordered to Mir to leave the court.----- He took no risks. He collected his family, and fled for protection of Aman-ul-mulk, the Mehtar of Chitral, whose sister he had married. The Mehtar gave him Ishkoman, where he lived till his death in 1924".⁵²

That is how the New Man from Europe, the Britisher bulldozed the mightiest mountains of Karakorum, Hindukush and Pamirs; brought to knees the god-kings of Hilly States to level the ground for Buffer Zone____The base to protect the imperial interests in Asia.

But why Britain was so violent and quick to accept the Pamir Compromise ?

In the wake of British spy invasion in Pamir, "Petrovski, the Russian Consul in Kashgar, told his

⁵² Page 269, Between the Oxus and the Indus, Colonel R.C.F Schomberg.

foreign ministry that Britain is going to hand over half of Pamir to Afghanistan and is secretly trying to come to an agreement with China. The mission of Young Husband activated the government of Tsar which had been so far following the policy of see-and-wait. So the governor-general of Turkistan, General Veryvski, went to Alai valley. Evanov was made the commander of Cossack and sent to Pamir. Colonel Evanov forced captain Young Husband to run away from Bozai Gombaz Valley. Now the Tsarist Russia said farewell to diplomatic correspondence and started to take decisive measures".⁵³

In April 1894, Russia and China compromised to accept the existing power structure and mutual status quo. After that, Russian government started to dialogue with Britain. On 11th March 1895, diplomatic correspondence between foreign ministries of Russia and Britain started".⁵⁴

The diplomatic correspondence ultimately materialized into an agreement. "British government decided under this agreement that the territory within its sphere of influence, and between Hindukush and Victoria Lake's eastern end extending up to Chinese

⁵³ Page 72, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House Moscow, 1976. (Urdu)

⁵⁴ Ibid page 73,

border should be declared as a part of Amir of Afghanistan's territory. Britain will not annex into its own territory. Britain also promised not to erect any military posts and forts within this territory.

The Joint Boundary Commission demarcated the boundary line in Pamir region. Thus, eight mile-wide Afghan arm extended and its nails touched China. The Middle territory between India and Russia ".⁵⁵ ____ The Wakhan corridor . "Now Britain declined to extend its political influence and control towards north and Russia towards south of this control line."⁵⁶

"1895's Pamir Compromise was an important link in the chain of events," ⁵⁷ and this completes the evolution of Buffer Zone.

No doubt, it was Britain which first proposed the idea of Middle Territory, and again it was the same which substantiated it into reality at the end. Curiously, it is the territory within British sphere of

⁵⁵ Page 74, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976 (Urdu).

⁵⁶ Ibid page, 74

⁵⁷ Page 74, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976. (Urdu).

influence which has been declared Buffer Zone in the 1895's compromise. Still more intriguing is the taming of the mountains and its people by British in the south of Hindukush for the Pamir Compromise. And this is the story of Gilgit-Baltistan, its occupation in the hands of Britishers.

THE CONQUEST OF GILGIT-BALTISTAN THE WAY IT WAS MADE PART OF BUFFER ZONE TERRITORY

Levelling of ground for Buffer Zone in the North of Hindukush was carried out with the help of Amir of Kabul, the British tamed spokesman in the region. The opposite happened in the South of Hindukush. The Britishers personally looked after the Buffer Zone in the south of Hindukush. That is how the Britishers guaranteed the safety of Buffer Zone.

But before the creation of Buffer Zone the Britishers never started the conquest of Gilgit-Baltistan themselves. They started indirectly with the help of Gulab Singh.

But who is Gulab Singh? How he was created? In which circumstances was he created? What was the nature of his state? These are some of the questions to be briefly answered prior to indirect colonisation.

"In 1846, Rambir Sing's father (Ghulab Sing) had been created first Maharaja of Kashmir by the British".⁵⁸ "With the disintegration of Sikh empire in the 1840s all the mountain lands administered by the Sikhs were detached and designated as the new State of Kashmir under their *de facto* ruler, Gulab Singh. By the treaty of Amristsar in 1846, he was recognized by the British as Maharaja in return for his settling the war indemnity levied on the defeated Sikhs".⁵⁹ "The Maharaja was bound to seek permission from Britain before making boundary changes and to submit all his disputes related to neighbours for British decisions".⁶⁰ Consequently, "in 1846, India's British rulers set up Princely State (Kashmir) to act as Buffer between the Raj in the South and Russia and China to the north".⁶¹

The creation of such Buffer States was the general policy of Britishers during those days. According to Robertson: " The love of Buffer States

⁵⁸ Page 27, The Gilgit Game, John Keay, Karachi, 1990.

⁵⁹ Page 5. The Gilgit Game, John Keay, Karachi, 1990.

⁶⁰ Page 138, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976. (Urdu).

⁶¹ Daily "The News" (Pakistan), 10th March, 1994. Kashmir's Brief History--Reuter. This news appeared when Pakistan deferred Kashmir resolution.

is deeply rooted in the heart of British Foreign Offices, London or Indian; but Indian Frontier Authorities have an inveterate tendency to improve on that cherished system, by erecting subordinate buffer states against the larger varieties ".⁶² It was in the light of such a general policy that the Britishers erected the Buffer State of Kashmir to make Gilgit-Baltistan as a subordinate Buffer State. The general policy had been evolved during the colonization of India. It was farsightedness on part of the British policy makers. " They did not merge many native states into British India. With farsightedness, instead, they retained their so-called sovereignty. History is an evidence that the rulers of these native states had proved the most faithful allies of British Crown and have fully supported the British to crush the struggle of freedom ".⁶³

It is no wonder that Sikh empire disintegrated and a de facto ruler was created. It was some thing that had to happen. Because there was no power in the region that could challenge European New Man's love for Buffer States. But rebellious Sikhs exceptionally without the consent of Britishers "under their Kashmir governor, Sher Singh, tried to

⁶² Page: 8, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad. 1989.

⁶³ Page: 425, Sibte-Hassan. (Musa to Marx) (Urdu).

invade Baltistan in vain." ⁶⁴

It was the only non-British-sponsored northern venture prior to Gulab Singh phenomena. " When Sher Sing, the Sikh governor in Kashmir invaded Baltistan,..... he did not consult the British at all but his invasion proved a failure ".⁶⁵ Historical background under which Sikhs invaded Baltistan are not so much complicated compared to British Game. They are simple: " Sikhs under Ranjit Singh, probably with his claim as a successor to the Mughals in Punjab and western part demanded loyalty and tributes both from Ladakh and Baltistan ".⁶⁶

The story of Gilgit is entirely different. " The mutual friendship between Mir Ghanzanfar (Hunza) and Gohar Aman (Yasin) estranged Nagar and led to subsequent events which brought the Sikhs to Gilgit ". ⁶⁷ " When Gohar Amanoccupied Gilgit,

⁶⁴ Page: 237, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁶⁵ Page 245, Dr.A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁶⁶ Page 244. Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁶⁷ Page: 200, Dr. A.H. Dani., History of Northern Areas of Pakistan. Islamabad, 1989.

Raja Karim Khan (Nagar), the husband of Sahebnuma, fled to Kashmir asking for military assistance from the Sikhs. Thus the internecine wars among the royal houses of the region introduced a third political force in Northern Areas. This political force was not expected as Raja Karim Khan sought only military assistance. He probably never realized that the Sikhs would continue to stay behind and establish their own authority here. There was no suspicion either because there was no precedence before ".⁶⁸ In this background when "one of the two brothers, either Sikandar Khan or Karim Khan, sent an emissary to the Sikh governor in Kashmir. How this was arranged is not known. In 1842, the Sikh governor despatched about 1000 Kashmiri troops under the command of Col. Nathu Shah, a Punjabi from Gujranwala, obviously with the approval of the Lahore Darbar ".⁶⁹ Karim Khan and his son continued to rule Gilgit under Sikh protection. "By this time Kashmir had already gone into the hands of Ghulam Singh. It was because of this change that Col. Nathu Shah, who was in service of Lahore Darbar, went back to Srinagar and Lahore and now transferred his

⁶⁸ Page 193, Dr.A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁶⁹ Page 247. Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

service to Ghulab Sing".⁷⁰ "The Sikh soldiers, posted in Gilgit, also transferred their allegiance to Ghulab Sing. This transfer of service clearly shows that the Gilgit action was undertaken by Kashmir governor with the backing of Lahore Darbar probably in competition with the action of Ghulab Sing in Ladakh and Baltistan. But unfortunately the Gilgit action proved to be a great headache. Kashmir governor had not been able to settle the affairs in Gilgit. It was this unsettled condition which was inherited by Gulab Singh when he accepted the loyalty of Col. Nathu Shah and other Sikh soldiers posted in Gilgit".⁷¹ The independently carried invasion of Sikhs in Baltistan had failed, and ultimately Ghulab Sing's interference in both Gilgit and Baltistan starts from now onwards.

The British choice in the person of Gulab Singh to create Kashmir a Buffer State was the most calculated move. Still further his job to create Gilgit-Baltistan as a subordinate Buffer State was guaranteed success. Maharaja had evolved in such an environment. Before British " in recognition of his services to the Sikhs against the Afghans, Gulab Sing, the Dogra Chief, was entrusted with the whole

⁷⁰ Ibid page 247

⁷¹ Page 248, Dr.A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

of the Jammu Province".⁷² "Quite contrary to Sikh advances into Northern Areas, Ghulab Sing was more astute. His own Northern Ventures were with the tacit approval of the British because his action was to serve the interests of the British as well. The British permission that he sought was in line with what he knew the direction of the new wind that was then blowing. His first venture into Ladakh from Jammu by way of Khistwar was to capture the pashm wool trade that went to enrich the economy of Kashmir. It was aimed at the ultimate occupation of Kashmir territory, which, as we have seen before, the British were pleased to award to him".⁷³ Hence in "1834, Ghulab Sing the tributary to Ranjit Sing captured Ladakh on British hint".⁷⁴

The way Gulab Sing's forces appear in Ladakh and Gilgit is now clear. Appearance in Baltistan is the middle link. "The Dogra ruler, with tacit approval of the British, moved his forces first into Ladakh, then

⁷² Page 84, S.M. Jaffar. Kashmir Sold and Resold, Islamabad, 1991.

⁷³ Page 243, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁷⁴ Page 138, Devandra Koshok, Soviet Central Asia, Past & Present, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976. (Urdu).

into Baltistan and finally into Gilgit sub-division".⁷⁵

Dr. A.H.Dani on page 248, in his book has summarized the conquest of Baltistan in the hands of Dogras. According to this summary, because of the family feuds the Skardu ruler's son Mohammad Shah fled to Zorawar Sing, the commander of Ghulab Sing, to get his help. To keep the Ladakhis from intriguing against the rule of Dogras, Zorawar Sing uses them as a part of Dogra Army for the first expedition against Baltistan. Again, because of the family feud in Khaplu mini-state, Mohammad Ali and Doulat Ali take shelter with Zorawar Sing. Under these circumstances Khaplu fell into the hands of Dogras with-out fighting.

"Zorawar Sing then advances to Skardu, after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmad Shah for want of Water. He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zorawar Sing, who installed his eldest son Mohammad Shah in his room".⁷⁶

The man who paved the way for British colonization to make Gilgit-Baltistan as a part of Buffer-Zone was again and again pated on his back

⁷⁵ Page 237, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of the Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁷⁶ Page 248, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

to strengthen his hold on the area. According to John Keay, "in 1848 the British actually urged the Maharaja to strengthen his hold on the place".⁷⁷ In response to Gulab Singh and his follower's aggression the people of Gilgit-Baltistan displayed historic heroism. People of Hunza and Nagar were never defeated by Maharaja. In 1848 people of Hunza surrounded the Maharaja's forces and Col. Nathu Shah was killed. The undaunted Gohar Aman of Yasin "outstripped the generalship of many commanders first sent by Sikh governor in Kashmir and later by Gulab Singh".⁷⁸ Ahmed Shah of Skardu, when released from the prison of Zorawar Singh, revolted against the forces of Dogra Maharaja. Mehtar of Chitral closely related to Gilgit-Baltistan before 1895 was barely made a friend of Maharaja. Gor, Chilas, Darel and Tangir could not be permanently occupied. So how much Kashmir government influenced the area? According to John Keay: "In twenty five years of trying to assert some influence there, its (Kashmir) troops had been ambushed and besieged by each and all of the various Hindukush tribes. For most of the 1850s they had been forced right back across the Indus and now, in 1866 they were just reasserting their shattered rule in the Gilgit Valley after another bloody

⁷⁷ Page 27, John Keay, *The Gilgit Game*, Karachi, 1990.

⁷⁸ Page 251, Dr. A.H. Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, Islamabad, 1989.

uprising".⁷⁹

Yes, shattered rule, the British expected this much from Ghulab Sing and his followers. For Indra (war-god) could defeat up to this extent the sun-gods in Boloristan. Kashmiri Rajputs worshipped the Aryan, Indra and Princes of Gilgit-Baltistan assumed to be descendants of Bolor Shah (the son of sun-god)⁸⁰ in Boloristan (Gilgit-Baltistan). Successfully the followers of secular Boccaccio, the Britishers had used one god against the other to achieve their objective____to create Gilgit-Baltistan as a part of Buffer Zone.

After being satisfied from the job of Kashmir government, the Britishers themselves managed to appoint first British representative in Gilgit.

"Gilgit Agency was established in 1877 and Captain John Biddulph was posted as Officer on Special Duty in Gilgit".⁸¹

The diplomacy, the language of New Man of Europe, the Britishers pressurised and benefitted

⁷⁹ Page 15, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

⁸⁰ Page 151, Dr. A.H. Dani, The History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989

⁸¹ Page, 284, Dr.A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Maharaja in this way when Biddulph was posted. "Maharaja was authorised to cross his frontier and establish his control over the rulers of these territories (Gilgit-Baltistan). This was accepted but this acceptance was conditional on the location of a British officer or officers in Gilgit or elsewhere in his territory throughout the year; and the location of British troops therein, when deemed necessary, by British government".⁸² Wonderful! the British diplomacy, the innocency, before Biddulph, they secretly encouraged Maharaja of Kashmir now they openly encourage knowing that the Maharajas have failed to strengthen their hold in Gilgit-Baltistan. The net result of this diplomacy was British occupation of Gilgit-Baltistan through military means.

Britishers first captured Hunza-Nagar after "one of the most brilliant little campaigns in military history" ⁸³ on 22nd December 1891. Chilas in 1892 and Chitral in 1895. In Baltistan, Gilgit proper, Yasin and Punyal, British military campaigns were not necessitated. These areas were brought under Maharaja's administrative system of Wazarat of Gilgit

⁸² Page 284, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas, of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁸³ Page 217, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

and Ladakh in 1888.⁸⁴ When British Political Agency was permanently established in 1888-89, "an entirely new shape was given to Wazir-wazarat of Gilgit and Ladakh".⁸⁵ This "entirely new shape" has been clearly depicted by A.Durand: "My position presented some of the curious anomalies to which the Indian administration on the frontier is accustomed. I was the representative of the British Government on the frontier, and the external relations with the neighboring states were under my control. But the rule within the Gilgit border was in the hands of the Kashmir Governor, while the command of the forces rested with the Kashmiri General, with the proviso that no important move of troops should be undertaken without my sanction. It was a difficult position, for every one recognized that, in addition to my own responsibilities, I was really answerable for the proper government and progress of Gilgit district, and discipline and control of the troops".⁸⁶

This peculiar arrangement created "dual control" and to carry out a smooth territory in the

⁸⁴ Page 279, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

⁸⁵ Ibid page 279

⁸⁶ Page 295, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Northern Frontier, the Britishers devised a new scheme: The Britishers persuaded the Maharaja to give Gilgit-Wazarat on lease for sixty years to the British Indian Government. On March 29, 1935 they signed the "lease" document.

Britishers justified this 'lease diplomacy' under newly twisted old British excuse: "Russian threat had assumed new ideological implications in view of the Sovietisation of Central Asia and the creation of several Soviet Central Asian Republics, the most relevant to northern borders were the republics of Tajikistan and Kirghizia".⁸⁷

With such a skilful combination of war and diplomacy the Britishers thus personally looked after the Buffer Zone in the South of Hindukush (Gilgit-Baltistan).

More over, Great Gamblers completed the creation of Buffer Zone in the South of Hindukush in 1935, yet the vitality of the same was guaranteed by the creation of a British head (Tamed Local Princes) and British arm (Gilgit Scouts).

In the next chapter we will familiarize ourselves with the use of these new colonial organs during 1947 episode. At present, we briefly follow

⁸⁷ Page 297, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

their evolution and their use before 1947.

EVOLUTION OF BRITISH HEAD-----THE TAMED LOCAL PRINCES

When British completed the creation of Buffer Zone in the South of Hindukush, nothing new happened in the social life of mountain peoples. Tribal leadership was allowed to administer the primitive societies. The only change besides centralization of political power was the appointment of the Rajas from the same ruling families. Before British occupation, the local Rajas and Mirs had evolved during a long social process. The leadership of these Mirs and Rajas corresponded to needs and demands of tribal society. The rulers were bound to protect the people from outside aggression, besides safeguarding collective economic interests and tribal healthy values.

When Britishers started appointing new Rajas and Mirs, the responsibilities and duties of these new rulers also changed. They were now bound to protect first and foremost the British interests. So, these Rajas were trained and instructed under British guidance and they gradually adapted themselves to the new political atmosphere.

Britishers called "Nagar the most loyal of all

Dard States".⁸⁸ Rulers of Nagar were strong, they had captured the Gilgit throne after Medieval Trakhan dynasty. When Gohar Aman of Yasin also started to capture Gilgit throne, Karim Khan or Sikandar Khan of Nagar had invited Sikhs to repulse him. So these rulers under such historical conditions had already shared power with Sikhs and Dogras before British. They continued sharing policy with Britishers also and so were the reasons for loyalty.

Rulers of Chitral, who, for a considerable part of medieval and modern period influenced Punial, Gupis and Yasin were on friendly terms with British. Lokhart called Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk "pillar of his whole defensive scheme for Dardistan".⁸⁹ Chitral Mehtars had strong ethnic and cultural ties with Badakhshan, so, these rulers were in better position to bargain with Britishers.

Raja Gohar Aman of Yasin who never accepted the foreign rule in this region was the worst enemy of Sikhs and Dogras, his followers however had already been mostly tamed by Sikhs and Dogras.

The rulers of Hunza in whom Sikhs, Dogras and British could only find evil and barbarism were all-time enemies of foreign aggressors. Britishers

⁸⁸ Page 163, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

⁸⁹ Ibid Page 167

called Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Ghazan Khan and Safdar Ali Khan robbers and raiders. The Hunza rulers were good military strategists, Ghazan Khan regarded his forts "as dear to him as the strings which secured his wives' pyjamas".⁹⁰

Alas ! such forts now had fallen into the hands of better strategists____the Britishers. The way British turned such strategically important a region into a part of Buffer Zone, certainly needed taming of rulers to guarantee the Buffer zone safety.

They used skilful colonial techniques to tame the region's rulers. Futility to resist and wage armed struggle against British Colonists was highlighted in the minds of the appointed rulers, by not returning war prisoners taken to India. Raja Uzr Khan of Nagar taken as war prisoner after 1891 war to Simla never returned and died in Simla. The art of palace intrigues was taught to British-appointed rulers, to subdue opponents who could not be defeated through open means. Britishers indirectly and Dogra Maharaja directly used these intrigues to weaken Raja Gohar Aman of Yasin. According to Dr. A.H. Dani: "British abetted in these secret intrigues of Maharaja".⁹¹

⁹⁰ Page 163, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

⁹¹ Page 256, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of the Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Furthermore, according to un-documented local, oral history of Hunza-Nagar, the Wazirs who could not seek political asylum in China were invited to tour British India after 1891 Hunza-Nagar war as a sign of good-will. But the tour was a part of skilful British propaganda campaign to neutralizing British hatred in the hearts of Hunza-Nagar people. These Wazirs after completing the official tour started to praise British Justice and their economic and military might in India. So, the Wazirs unconsciously played an instrumental role to minimize peoples' hatred against British occupationists. The hatred needed to be minimised, because, the people of Hunza remembered the day the British occupied Hunza as 'dooms day of their little world'.

The appointed Rajas and their Wazirs launched systematic character assassination campaign against nationalist Rajas and Wazirs, under British instructions. Raja Gohar Aman of Yasin and Mir Safdar Ali Khan and Wazir Thara Beg of Hunza were the worst victims of this campaign. For coming generations, they projected Raja Gohar Aman as the worst cruel ruler. He threw into river a poor man when he had headache, portrayed the campaign. Safdar Ali Khan and Thara Beg's names were both buried under the fabricated heap of local palace intrigues. Proud of his people and kingdom, Safdar Khan had rejected the indirect bribery of Young Husband to visit India. "Great Kings like himself and

Alexandér the great, never left their kingdom" ⁹² was the answer. So, British needed to bury his name along with that of his Wazir.

Such a campaign conducted by those who hymned British slavery under British instruction buried not only Safdar Ali Khan and Thara Beg but the national spirit of the whole region. It meant the defenders of the motherland were without any character. Hence the people of the region have totally forgotten the British colonial invasion. It has created a person who is unable to remember his heroic past, so, he cannot safeguard his economic and political rights. The campaign has, on the other hand, taught to surrender before aggressor and exploiter. The submissiveness was also taught through other means. Mir Nazim Khan, the British Choice in Hunza was instructed to hold the reins of British Political Agent's horse when he mounted for Polo in Gilgit Pologround___a lesson to accept the British authority, never documented by British historians themselves.

We cannot depend upon un-documented techniques, because, the "SAHIB" has missed it. Luckily, we have the documented ones___The open bribery___Stipends for tamed Rajas from British, they are being awarded even uptill now. The bribery

⁹² Page 203, The Gilgit Game, John Keay, Karachi, 1990.

from a British hand is, however, called a stipend, and appointment under British authority is called Mirship.

How Mirship was carried on can be learned from the letter of British Resident in Kashmir to Mir Nazim Khan's son: "With the approval and authority of His Excellency the Crown Representative is pleased to recognise your succession to the Mirship of Hunza. A formal SANAD will be presented in due course".⁹³

That is how the Rajas evolved with stipends and Sanads in South of Hinduksh____The documented British Head. Yet, the vitality of Buffer Zone in the south of Hindukush was further guaranteed by the creation of British arm____the Gilgit Scouts.

THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH ARM ----- **THE GILGIT SCOUTS**

The necessity to create British arm____the Gilgit Scouts in the Southern part of Buffer Zone has been argued at length in different ways. Defence policy of Britishers, according to Dr. A.H. Dani, demanded "the control of the local chiefs, which the British originally entrusted to the Maharaja of Kashmir who was to carry out this part of the job by his

⁹³ Page 301, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Kashmir troops. But, by 1890 the British realised that this was not possible to do only with the Kashmir troops. Hence, Col. Durand had to bring British troops and British officers in 1891 to fight against the rulers of Hunza and Nagar and to re-establish his authority over Chilas and the tribal territories".⁹⁴

"It is about this time the British established the Imperial Service Troops".⁹⁵ The plan of Imperial Service Troops " adopted involved the reduction of large numbers of the armed rabble in all native states, and the substitution in their place of small compact bodies of well-trained, disciplined, and regularly paid troops, whose training was to be under the supervision of the British Inspecting officers. The announcement of this plan by Lord Dufferin heralded a new era of defence policy".⁹⁶

Col. Durand applied this defence policy in the South of Hindukush with these objectives: "The watching and control of the country south of the Hindukush, and the organization of a force which could be able in time of trouble to prevent any *coup*

⁹⁴ Page 310, Dr.A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989

⁹⁵ Ibid Page 310.

⁹⁶ Page 311, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

de main by a small body of troops across the passes".⁹⁷

"It was in fulfillment of these aims that the corps of Gilgit Scouts was raised as a local force of levies in 1889 by Col. Durand".⁹⁸ These un-organized fighting levies of Durand, employed during 1891 Hunza-Nagar expedition and 1895 Chitral campaign, were finally "abolished and Gilgit Scouts was raised in 1913".⁹⁹

Simply, the British arm created in Kashmir (Kashmir Troops) and deputed in Gilgit failed to achieve the British objective and this necessitated the creation of Gilgit Scouts.

In the opinion of C.C.Trench: "..... the local political agent suggested in 1900, the formation of a part-time militia of 'trained cragsmen' from tough mountaineers of Chitral. It was a proposal after Lord Curzon's heart, a loyal militia defending their own country until regular troops could arrive, and it was the genesis of the Chitral Scouts, tribesmen armed with modern rifles, trained for one month a year and providing at a very small cost a tripwire which could

⁹⁷ Ibid page 311

⁹⁸ Ibid page 311

⁹⁹ Ibid page 311

at least delay an incursion. In 1913, the Gilgit Scouts were raised on similar lines with similar role".¹⁰⁰

The same C.C.Trench assigns another duty to Gilgit Scouts. "In the absence of any police force, they also had the general responsibility for law and order".¹⁰¹

Defence of British frontiers stressed by Durand and C.C.Trench had been proved hypothetical. It was actually the British disguised attempt to conceal the real responsibility of British arm. The responsibility mentioned by C.C.Trench as an additional part is the real responsibility, i.e., the maintenance of law and order. The truth has been proved from the practice of Gilgit Scouts.

The defence of British head____the Tamed Rajas in the name of law and order had been the priority of Gilgit Scouts. The protection of the Nagar Mir in 1972, for the forcible collection of land revenue is an unforgotten story. Sixteen peasants of Nagar were butchered by Gilgit Scouts and the relatives of the dead were forced to dance upon their dead bodies. (Ofcourse not documented by a "SAHIB").

¹⁰⁰ Page 311, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of the Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁰¹ Ibid page 311

In British Buffer Zone, British arm silenced the rising voice of the people, and it was its duty. Correctly, the vitality of the Buffer Zone, the untold diplomatic need could only be fulfilled by the British muscle in this manner.

A few locals can believe that the deep de-politicisation and fear to demand political rights has been gifted to masses by the Gilgit Scouts' rapidly evolving structure.

The defenders of the fairy land, the martial fighters of "BOPSING KE PARI" against Dogras under Gohar Aman and "JANGEERA LAAY" OF NILT under Safdar Khan and Uzr Khan against British were now turned into British arm. The god-kings had left alone their brave sons and for this brave soldiers of Gilgit Scouts cannot be blamed. For, they were brought up by British and their lackeys. Shah Khan honestly provides the details:

"Gilgit Scouts on the pattern of Frontier Corps were reorganised on company and platoon basis. These platoons and companies were commanded by close relations of Mirs and Rajas of the area, usually their sons and brothers. They were specially commissioned as VCO's (Viceroy's Commissioned Officers) for this purpose. The corp was commanded by British Officers *but the actual power rested with the VCO's, in other words, with the ruling families.* The VCO's were given a privileged treatment by the

British, which was considered to be the greatest honour for the local chieftains. The corps directly came under the Political Agent and all promotions to the rank of VCO's were made by him on the basis of political considerations. A limited number of men could rise to this rank from amongst the ranks also".¹⁰²

Thus, according to Dr. A.H.Dani, "The defence of Gilgit Agency dependent on the loyalty of the local Mirs and Rajas, whose share in the supply of men to the scouts guaranteed their support".¹⁰³ "This support; which the British got for the minimum price that they paid in terms of meagre salary, stood as a great strength to the British. The corps had come to represent the united might of socio-political force of the region".¹⁰⁴

The socio-political force or the British arm thus evolved which guaranteed the loyalty of local Rajas and Mirs to British, and silenced the voice of people had now perfectly guaranteed the vitality of the Buffer Zone in the South of Hindukush.

¹⁰² Page 312, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁰³ Ibid Page 312

¹⁰⁴ Page 313, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

The episode of 1947 is nothing but the new British manoeuvring to continue old policy of Buffer Zone with the help of British arm and British head. It is for this reason the enquiry uptill now is the basis of newly twisted British manoeuvring____the so-called merger of Gilgit-Baltistan with Muslim Pakistan.

`Merger,' the mystic end of the Great Game is in the heart of British `goddess of Diplomacy,' which is worshipped as disputed Kashmir.

Honestly, the `goddess of Diplomacy' will not allow us to touch her heart unless we give some offerings to Kashmir, that is, if we do not utter some words about Kashmir: who turned it into a dispute? Before that we have but to be clear about the reasons which forced the Britishers to transfer the power to tamed people of the Indian Sub-Continent. And before that we are forced to briefly touch the new global balance of power which urged transfer of power.

CHAPTER - III

NEW BALANCE OF POWER URGED THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIAN CONTINENT:

The New Rulers of Europe, evolved from European barbarians, after taming the peoples of colonial world remained on different levels of World Power. The difference among these New Rulers of Europe was conditioned by the strength of individual National armies, their ability to equip these armies with mass and sophisticated weapons, the correct and quick application of scientific discoveries into industry which helped dominate world market and raw materials. Combined with these determinants, the ability of political institutions in different European countries placed New Rulers of Europe on different stages of world power. Such a level of power structure caused the "the fierce struggle for markets and raw materials. To protect their interests, several European countries formed alliances. Britain, France and Russia formed the tripple Entente. This pact placed them in opposition to Germany, Austria and Italy, who formed the Tripple Alliance".¹⁰⁵ "The economic and political rivalries of Europe's foremost powers finally erupted into a full scale war between the Tripple Entente and Italy against Germany and

¹⁰⁵ Page 489, Topic World War I: Merit Student Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, 1975, U.S.A.

the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The United States eventually entered the conflict on the side of the Entente Powers".¹⁰⁶ The war is known as World War I. Germany and its allies were defeated in this war.

The defeat sharpened economic and political rivalries of Europe's foremost powers further, added by Soviet Russia which appeared in 1917. Besides Europe's New Rulers, Asian, Japan had also joined World War I, and had been given some of the ex-colonial holdings of defeated Germany to it after World War I.¹⁰⁷ In this way Asian Japan and peasant-workers' USSR also joined the competing powers after World War I. These competing forces viz Germany, Japan, and Italy on one side, and Britain, France, USA and USSR on the other side collided with each other mainly due to German initiative in 1939, and the war was called World War II.

This war was an important stage of evolution for Earth inhabitants, because it re-distributed global political power on a new pattern for coming future.

At this stage of man's evolutions on Earth, the most powerful New Ruler of Europe, Great Britain

¹⁰⁶ Page 489, Topic World World War I: Merit Students Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, 1975, U.S.A.

¹⁰⁷ Page 27, Great Victory, Gregory Deborin, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977. (Urdu)

was surpassed by its own offspring, the USA. And USA "inaugurated the Nuclear Age" ¹⁰⁸ by dropping atomic bombs in August, 1945 on Japan. But peasant-Workers' USSR from now onwards emerged parallel to USA because of its enormous sacrifices and successes, specially in Eastern Europe in World War II and after the War. This led to the beginning of another war____the Cold-War.

Furthermore, World War II opened the possibilities for the tamed peoples of India, Arab region, Far East and Africa to continue their existence on Earth, which was not possible to tamed aboriginals of Australia, Newzealand, and America. Comparatively more developed peoples among the tamed peoples started a process of re-awakening which is somehow known as Decolonisation.

The process of Decolonisation in Indian-continent clearly accelerated due to emerging New Structure of global balance of power. In this new structure which started the infamous Cold War era, USA advised Great Britain to leave Indian Continent and transfer the political power to the newly emerging parties there.

H.V.Hodson verifies such an advice: "British Policy progressed to the point of offering India

¹⁰⁸ Page 492, Topic World War. II, Merit Students Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, 1975, USA.

national independence under the influence of three broad secular forces. One was diplomatic pressure from the United States has been popularly supposed to be more significant than it actually was; only in 1942 does it appear to have had a determinantal effect".¹⁰⁹ But, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan gives more information: "When World War II started, the American political leaders pressurised Britain, that unless Indian political problem is solved, Indians will not support us in the war (World War-II), therefore, India should be freed. President Roosevelt, time and again said this to Mr. Churchill. British also realized this and started to consider the demand. To this end, British sent Cripps Mission to India but it failed. The war was going worse for British and Americans, and for this reason Americans again pressurised British for Indian independence. Lord Wavell went to London and conferred with the minister responsible for India to arrange a Round Table Conference for the solution of Indian political issue".¹¹⁰ Once again Americans tried to persuade British to compromise with Indian Congress when Congress seriously thought about political movement against British.

In this situation two responsible Americans

¹⁰⁹ Page 4, H.V.Hodson, *The Great Divide*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1985.

¹¹⁰ Page 623, *My Life and Struggle*, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, 1981. (Urdu).

Roland A.Hare and Thoms-E-Well visited Muslim League's Jinnah on 1st May, 1947. The Americans were pleased to hear from Mohammad Ali Jinnah that if Pakistan came into being it will stand against its rival i.e. USSR. Here are their remarks: "He (Jinnah) sought to impress on his visitors that the emergence of an independent, sovereign Pakistan would be in consonance with American interests. Pakistan would be a Muslim country, Muslim countries stand together against Russian aggression. In that endeavor they would look to the United States for assistance, he added", [P 1] American role in Pakistan (Vinkataraman) ¹¹¹

The above-mentioned influence of new global balance of power in the Decolonization process of Indian-continent is unambiguous. Americans influenced British using Russian threat and Japanese threat for Indian-continent. Certainly, the Russian (Cold War opponent of USA) threat played decisive role in the decolonisation process. This is once again confirmed by an American scientist's proposal to annex Hunza with USA in Hindukush, Karakorum mountains, on the borders with ex-Soviet Central Asia. The proposal at the same time explains the need to turn Kashmir into a dispute under the influence of new global power structure.

¹¹¹ Page 205, Facts are Facts, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Peshawar, 1988. (Urdu).

NEW BALANCE OF POWER ALSO URGED BRITISH TO TURN KASHMIR INTO A DISPUTE:

American scientist, Dr. John Clark had visited Hunza in 1949. After some rest in USA, the scientist again visited Hunza in 1950. In this second visit he met Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan and asked for permission to visit Hunza again. Pakistan's Foreign Minister complained about the proposal which had appeared in "Life magazine" in 30 January issue of 1950: "Last January, some American correspondents published a statement that the people of Hunza wanted to join the United States.-----The people of Hunza never heard of the United States until you came. Therefore, you must be working for your country to win our Northern Frontier away from us. Explain these accusations that I have put to you!"¹¹² The American scientist temporarily dodged the Foreign Minister, but at the end he admitted frankly in his book. Here is his acceptance of the accusation: "At this time, also, I began to sense that a grave error I had made on my last trip had caught up with me".¹¹³

The question to be understood is, why the

¹¹² Page 15, *HUNZA*, The Lost kingdom of Himalayas, Dr. John Clark, Reprinted in Karachi, 1980.

¹¹³ Page 16, Dr. John Clark, *Hunza*, The Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas, Karachi, 1980.

American scientist, a geologist, a specialist on deserts and fossil bones, who was a reconnaissance engineer in World War-II (1944) in Kansu and Sinkiang province had proposed to annex Hunza with United States? Simply, the scientist feared communism in Asia and had come to Hunza to stop it. Here are his intentions: "My object was to attempt to show the members of one Asian community how they could use the resources they already possessed to better their own lives. More important, I would endeavour to teach the people of Hunza that within their own efforts lay their hope of future, that they could (with a little guidance at first) lift themselves as high as they wished, and that they did not need communism in order to do so. I knew ofcourse, that one man could not stop communism in Asia, but I also knew that one properly managed project like mine could free several thousand Asians from its menace, and could act as a sort of pilot model for larger efforts".¹¹⁴ Also, Dr. Clark had come to Karakurum Hindukush mountains with the determination to " Win the friendship of non-communist Asian people, but we might drive communism out of existence".¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Page 3, Dr. John Clark. *Hunza*, the Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas, Karachi, 1980.

¹¹⁵ Page 7, Dr. John Clark, *Hunza*, The Lost Kingdom of Himalayas, Karachi, 1980.

Can we say Russian threat played a decisive role in the decolonization of Indian continent? Absolutely! Before the creation of Pakistan, Americans wished to extend diplomatic relations using Russian menace, as we noted from the remarks of Mohammed Ali Jinnah and after the creation of Pakistan the same Americans wish to stop Russian communism they fear to flow into Indian continent.

Again, can we say that Americans advised British to turn Kashmir into a dispute? Certainly yes! Because if Hunza needs to be annexed with USA after partition, they had absolutely advised before partition to turn Hunza alongwith Kashmir into a dispute. That ultimately helped the British to turn Kashmir alongwith Gilgit into old British Buffer Zone.

The assumed Russian threat, and American strategy to annex Hunza resolves the diplomatic riddle behind the disputed Kashmir: that it is not the differences in Hindu-Muslim beliefs, but the ideological confrontation of newly emerging global powers played decisive role to turn Kashmir into a disputed territory.

How Hindu-Muslim religious beliefs were used as a part of the game to turn Kashmir into a dispute by the British is to be examined in the next section. At present the Cold War rivalry exposes the myth and stereo-type about Congress and League: that Indian Congress and Muslim League achieved

freedom themselves and Kashmir issue emerged as a minor error during partition.

How much Congress and League influenced 'Freedom' and partition, can be assessed from the following instance: it is about Muslim League's influence on 'Freedom' and partition. "When power transfer plan was presented before Quaid-e-Azam, he was shocked. The plan included division of Punjab and Bangal. Muslim League had demanded for undivided Muslim provinces, to be included in Pakistan. Mountbatten had used Quaid-e-Azam's own arguments against him in the power transfer plan. When Quid-e-Azam asked to consult Muslim League regarding power transfer plan, Mountbatten was furious. He said Mr. Jinnah! I will not allow you to spoil your own plan for which you have been crying so much. Tomorrow in the meeting I will say that Congress has accepted the plan with some reservations. Sikhs have also accepted the plan. Then I will say that I discussed the plan with Mr. Jinnah last night in a friendly atmosphere and he personally assured me to accept the plan. At this moment I will pay attention to you, you have to nod and give the impression that you agree with me. Don't say a word, other wise, you and congress will spoil the plan____ And Mr. Jinnah, you should be clear that if you don't nod in affirmation at that time, every thing is off. After that I will be unable to help you. Sure! every thing will collapse. Don't take it for a threat, it is a prediction. When my interests are ignored your

Pakistan will also evaporate.

Quaid-e-Azam was facing the real test. If he accepts Mountbatten's plan, Punjab and Bengal are to be divided. If he does not accept Pakistan was really going to evaporate. Unwillingly, he accepted the Mountbatten plan for the sake of his nation.

And in the next day's meeting when Mountbatten paid attention to Quid-e-Azam, Quid-e-Azam nodded in affirmation as was agreed upon the previous day.

At 7'O clock in the evening of 3rd June, the four leaders accepted the plan on All India radio. At this moment Quid-e-Azam's 'Long live Pakistan' was aired on All India radio for the first time". ¹¹⁶

Interestingly, how much Muslim League influenced the creation of Pakistan is being narrated by a staunch supporter of Muslim League who had thoroughly examined Pakistan's secret documents.

Those who consciously ignored the 'decisive

¹¹⁶ Pages: 133, 134, 135, Kashmir Issue, Ahmad Shuja Pasha, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992. (Urdu).

Note: Ahmad Shuja Pasha's Special References on page 368: Excerpts from speeches of Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan, reports about Tribal Intervention (Punjab Government)

role' of the new balance of power, particularly the envisaged new Russian threat, have turned disputed Kashmir into a real 'goddess of diplomacy'. Understanding this ignored dimension will undoubtedly help us now to expose the British techniques, that turned Kashmir into a dispute.

Disputed Kashmir a 'diplomatic duplicate' of old British Buffer Zone, stopped the hypothetical Russian threat once again on the northern borders of Sub-Continent. It was for this reason in 1947 after one century (1846___when British had created Buffer State of Kashmir) the British again established new Buffer Zone. The British techniques to turn Kashmir into a dispute or New Buffer Zone were carried on in a most calculated manner.

THE PATTERN AND STEPS TO TURN KASHMIR INTO A DISPUTE

Disputed Kashmir, the 'goddess of diplomacy' now to be brought down from the heavens onto the Earth. That means we have to be simple. So, disputed Kashmir is simply a forcibly-made neutral territory. It was a duplicate to Buffer Zone or neutral territory between Tsarist Russia and British India. The only difference was that this time the neutral territory was created without consulting new Russia, i.e., ex-Soviet Russia. But the function was same to restrain Soviet influence south wards and de-colonize Sub-Continent's influence north wards.

Again, for the sake of simplicity, we ask the question: the British had left India, what interests had they left behind, that urged to be saved from communist Russia? Answering it, we can say that it is a misconception that British have left India in 1947. Because, until and unless the British-created army, bureaucracy, legal and cultural institutions remain to function, it is simply foolish to say that British have left Indian continent and hence freed the people there.

When British physically left the Indian continent, they had transferred the tools to administer the society there into new hands. The new hands knew to administer the society without changing the British institutions. Because the new rulers (Congress and League) had not achieved freedom by defeating the British.

Hence, the new rulers were unable to destroy the British institutions and create their own.

Physical departure of British never meant the British brain and British muscle had left the Sub-continent. To protect these institutions (British tools, created by taming Indians) British once again created Neutral Zone.

British farsightedness to protect their institutions in the Sub-continent proved right when Pakistan army, bureaucracy and the Islamic vigour

renewed in 1947 helped Americans and the West to use Pakistan as a base to counter ex-Soviet interference in Afghanistan.

To protect the British-created institutions, the sacred British interests, Kashmir was systematically turned into a dispute in 1947. First, for turning Kashmir into dispute British deliberately delayed the accession of Kashmir to either Dominion using Maharaja of Kashmir.

Those who are familiar with partition story of Sub-Continent know that out of 565 Indian States, except Hyder Abad and Junagarh, Kashmir was the last to be acceded to India or Pakistan. The opinion that Maharaja Hari Singh was mainly responsible for the delay to accede to either dominion (India or Pakistan) is a fabricated story to conceal the actual power that turned Kashmir into dispute. The story was propagated masterly by the British masters themselves, above all, by the Viceroy who executed the plan to turn Kashmir into a dispute _____ Mountbatten. On 25th October 1947, the defence committee under the chair of Governor-General Mountbatten was discussing the sending of military assistance to Maharaja of Kashmir after Maharaja's formal accession to India. In this meeting Mountbatten again blamed Maharaja for the delay to accede and subsequent situation which had emerged due to Pakistani tribal invasion. " Lord Mountbatten recalled his efforts to persuade the Maharaja to make

up his mind, and said that his indecision had brought this trouble on himself ". ¹¹⁷ Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru boldly answered and exposed the truth. "Pandit Nehru retorted that it had been largely induced by the policy of the Political Department under the previous viceroyalty. He also complained that although the State and Defence Departments had approved Kashmir's continual requests for arms and equipment nothing had happened ". ¹¹⁸

Pundit Nehru was right that the previous Viceroy had persuaded the Maharaja to delay the accession. He only could not dare to expose the Last Viceroy, Mountbatten himself. " There is a full and circumstantial record of an interview which Pandit Nehru had with Lord Mountbatten on 24th June 1947, shortly after the latter had returned from his visit to Kashmir. The Viceroy recounted that the advice he had given to the Maharaja and his Prime Minister covered five Points:

1. Kashmir should not decide about joining any Constituent Assembly until the Pakistan Assembly had been setup and the situation was

¹¹⁷ Page 448, 3rd Paragraph, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide. Karachi, 1989

¹¹⁸ Ibid page: 448, 3rd Paragraph.

clearer ".¹¹⁹

Mountbatten's 4th advice to Maharaja, added to above, paved the way to the next step with which Kashmir was to be disputed. The fourth advice said:

" 4. That eventually they should send representatives to one constituent Assembly and join one of the two states, at least for the three central subjects ".¹²⁰ (defence, external affairs and communications).

The advice led to creation of Instrument of Accession for Kashmir and conditional use of this Instrument turned Kashmir into a dispute. Who and how this instrument was used to dispute Kashmir will be clear later on, at present we have to note how the Instrument was created? Before that we have to note that the above advices of Mountbatten were formulated before the policy of 'no accession', and 'no stand still agreement' for remaining Indian States. In other words, Mountbatten's advice for Kashmir Ruler caused the creation of instrument of Accession and Standstill agreements for all Indian

¹¹⁹ Page: 441-442, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹²⁰ Ibid. Page: 442

States. This has been clarified by V.H.Hodson.¹²¹

The Instrument of Accession and with it Stand-still Agreement for Indian States had their origin in Cabinet Mission's memorandum of 12 May 1946. In this memorandum, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes had been addressed. It said "The void left by the lapse of political arrangements between the states on the one side and the Crown and the British India on the other would have to be filled by their entering into a federal relationship with the successor government or governments or by entering into 'particular' political arrangements".¹²² These undefined particular arrangements were finally made concrete legal instruments by Mountbatten, first for Kashmir and later on for all Indian states. On 25th July 1947, Mountbatten formed a Negotiating Committee consisting of ten rulers and twelve ministers of Princely States. The committee was guardian of the interests of states generally in drafting the Stand-still Agreements and Instruments of Accession.¹²³

¹²¹ Page 442, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989. (Foot Note).

¹²² Page 356, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹²³ Page 370, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

On the table of this Negotiating Committee: "These (Instrument of Accession and Stand-Still Agreement) were hammered out in two sub-committees between 26th and 31st July (1947). The draft Stand-Still Agreement originated in the Political Department, which had been concerned with the problem, essentially in its sphere, well before 3rd June. The draft Instrument of Accession originated in the States Department. Both were agreed, with amendments, by the states Negotiating Committee by 31st July (1947). The Standard Stand-Still Agreement provided that all agreements and administrative arrangements as to matters of common concern then existing between the Crown and the signatory state, as specified in a schedule, should continue until new arrangements were made".

To understand simply the 'goddess of diplomacy', and for that the details of these two legal Instruments have been unwillingly mentioned, the Stand-Still Agreement meant: When British authority over Indian states lapsed, the economic and commercial agreements signed with British Crown may then be again signed with India or Pakistan before accession of states to either of the new

¹²⁴ Page 370, 2nd Para, H.V. Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989

countries.¹²⁵

" The Instrument of Accession took three forms, according to the existing status and powers of the various states. For 140 states with full powers the Instrument caused them to accede to the Dominion of India only for defence, external affairs and communications, without any financial liability".¹²⁶ Kashmir State was in this group, only with a difference: That it could accede to either new country.

The legal philosophy behind these two Instruments was that British had not completely merged the Indian states in the administrative network of British India. Their so-called sovereignty had been maintained. Now, after the transfer of power, British wanted to continue their ex-status in some form. What kind of sacrifices these native rulers had rendered to British which helped them to keep their so-called Independence? The really tamed Indians had helped British in Indian Mutiny of 1857. British admit that " Only the passive acquiescence and, in some cases, active aid of princely states from the Punjab to Hyder Abad saved the British Raj from

¹²⁵ Page, 362, 2nd Para. H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹²⁶ Page 370, 2nd Para, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

irretrievable disaster in 1857. This was never forgotten in either country, and was a contributory factor in subsequent attitudes for ninety years (1857-1947) ". ¹²⁷ Also, the traitors of Indians, the Princes had been loved by British for their " Support which the princes had given the King-Emperor in the War " ¹²⁸ (World War-I).

Unfortunately, the love for traitors proved cunningly diplomatic, none of these rulers could maintain their British-devised independence, after transfer of power. All this love was turned to one State___Kashmir, and people of Sub-Continent are suffering uptill now because of this affection. How this love, Instrument of Accession, particularly its conditional use disputed Kashmir could be smoothly understood after the following two next steps.

The third step is British conspiracy to heat-up the Hindu-Muslim sectarianism in Kashmir. This sectarianism turned into 'superficially-known' Muslim uprisings in present Pakistani-occupied Kashmir. The uprisings divided Kashmir on the basis of religion. That in turn gave legitimacy for Mountbatten to pressurize Maharaja for conditional accession of Kashmir. As a consequence, conditional

¹²⁷ Page 24, 1st para, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹²⁸ Ibid. Page 26, (3rd para)

accession disputed Kashmir.

The sectarianism started in Poonch, which was differentiated from other parts of Kashmir due to majority World War-II retired Muslim army men. According to Ahmed Shuja Pasha, these retired men under the leadership of retired Colonel Khan Mohammad greeted Maharaja Hari Singh in April 1947. The ex-soldiers were in their ex-military uniform labelled with madels. The Muslim retired men were 40,000 strong who greeted the Maharaja in Poonch.

Why was Maharaja greeted? Because the then British Commander-in-Chief in India had directed the Maharaja to listen to complaints of these ex-soldiers. What could be their complaints? The Maharaja was not caring for their welfare? When were the complaints made? During World War II when they fought for British in the company of British officers. How the Commander-in-Chief came to know about their complaints? Through verbal complaints received from his commanding officers. What happened when Hari Singh saw these 40,000 ex-soldiers in military uniform?. The Maharaja was frightened and started shivering seeing these Muslim men in uniform. The Maharaja took the reception of ex-soldiers for a demonstration of Muslim might against him. Had soldiers advised their leader Col. Khan Mohammad to avoid uniform, for it might give the impression of a revolt against the Maharaja? Yes. But the leader

thought that he had really no such intentions, hence, advised the colleagues to be in uniform. What was the result of this reception ? After returning from Poonch, the Maharaja in Sirinagar started to enrol extra soldiers to reduce the Muslim dominance which he had seen now in Poonch. He thought Muslims were going to resist him in the coming accession. So he organized a new Poonch Brigade consisting of Dogras. This new brigade started to terrorize Muslims in Poonch area.

What other factors intensified this terror ? After organizing the new brigade, the Maharaja persued a petition against his cousin to get back the Jageer in Poonch. The Maharaja succeeded to do so and now he increased tax on tenants in the newly acquired Jageer. Poor tenants of this Jageer could not bear new tax. So, they decided to stop the new tax. People started a movement to get rid of the new tax. The Maharaja started to suppress the movement with force. In Bagh Tehsil Dogra soldiers from the new brigade opened fire on 5000 protestors. This happened on 26th August 1947, and consequently, Muslim uprising started in other parts of the present Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

Ahmed Shuja Pasha's above narration on page 198 to 201 ¹²⁹ in his book has been simplified in

¹²⁹ Ahmed Shuja Pasha, The Kashmir Issue, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992, (Urdu).

question-answer form to simplify the British conspiracy in Kashmir. The narration tells us about the 'start' of so-called Muslim uprisings. How the narration is not an uprising but a British conspiracy to heat up Hindu-Muslim sectarianism which indirectly turned into an uprising? The answer is in the above narration itself. The British Commander-in-Chief could have directed the Maharaja to solve the problems of retired soldiers through normal official procedures. Treating an application or a delegation of these soldiers could have been one of the normal procedures for the Maharaja. Instead, the British Commander-in-Chief directed the Maharaja to see the people on the spot and solve their problems. That jeopardized the problem instead of solving it. The complaints of the ex-soldiers were not an urgent issue as these were made during the Second World War. And the Commander-in-Chief directed the Maharaja to solve these old complaints after the War in 1947, just before the State's accession. Moreover, the Commander-in-Chief had not received these complaints through proper channel, i.e., in the form of written application.

The manner to solve these normal, old complaints just before Kashmir's accession exposes the conspiracy of the then British Commander-in-Chief in Sub-continent: that he created Hindu-Muslim sectarianism using skilful techniques of political sabotage. It also argues that the innocent soldiers were consciously instigated to be in uniform to

frighten the Maharaja, which they already feared. The same further argues that Maharaja's fight with his cousin and to increase tax was also cunningly instigated using the Maharaja's administrative network.

The British originated political sabotage, which ultimately disputed Kashmir is an unexplored one incident. Together with many such incidents, they developed the Science of sabotage all over Sub-continent. Modern cow slaughter before the Hindu temple and burning of Holy Quran in Muslim Mosque is a unrefined expression of such British legacy.

Still, some people may ignore British sabotage in Kashmir and can argue that Muslim uprisings in present Pakistan-occupied Kashmir had no connection with this sabotage. On the contrary, the uprisings were in line with Muslim League's general policy of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent. Historical truth negates this assertion. First of all, we should be clear that Muslim League was not an important factor concerning the policy of Indian states. British confirm this weakness of the League's: "In relation to this triangle of forces___The Viceroy, the Congress leaders, and the Political Adviser as exponent of the more traditional British policy towards the States___Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League were not so much a fourth element of a quadrilateral as a force out-side the

triangle ".¹³⁰ Secondly, Muslim League never advised Muslims in Indian States to accede to Pakistan neglecting the opinion of their rulers. Quaid-e-Azam and Muslim League time and again expressed the following policy towards Indian states: " The Indian states will be free to negotiate agreements with Pakistan or Hindustan as considerations of contiguity or their own self-interest may dictate, or they may choose to assume complete and separate sovereign status for themselves ". (Liaqat Ali Khan in Dawn, 22nd April 1947)¹³¹

Even Muslim Conference in Sirinagar which passed a resolution on 19th July 1947 to accede to Pakistan was not single-minded. A section of Muslim Conference had passed the resolution for Independent Kashmir.¹³²

We just learnt that Muslim League was not a decisive force to influence the accession of Indian States. The decisive force was the triangle of forces____The Viceroy, the Congress leaders, and the Political Adviser. In reality, out of these three, the

¹³⁰ Page: 360, 2nd para, H.V. Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989

¹³¹ Page: 361, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989. (Foot Note).

¹³² Page, 167, Ahmed Shuja Pasha, The Kashmir Issue, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992. (Urdu).

Congress was also a weak force. Hence, basically the only decisive force was the Britishers themselves.

This force, not Muslim league, is solely responsible for tribal Invasion in Kashmir. Tribal invasion gave legitimacy for Mountbatten to pressurize Nehru to accept accession conditionally. That turned Kashmir into a dispute for future. This is the fourth step of British gamblers to dispute Kashmir. How the tribal invasion was organized is examined below.

Plunder of Indian Continent from 1599 to 1947 in the hands of British and crimes committed during this period against its people were compensated by freely transferring power. That is the political teaching preached by the civilized Britishers. Clearly, it is a criminal lie. The price of freely transferring power into Indian hands was cashed in advance by Britishers. The cash was division of India on the basis of religion. The division resulted into migration and butchery of millions of Indians. This helped Britishers, the real enemy to disappear from the minds of Indians. As a result, this helped to survive British Institutions in India. British Institutions in India meant British government without British rulers. And that was the philosophy behind free transfer of power.

Tribal invasion in Kashmir, the main step to dispute Kashmir was engineered in this perspective

to save British institutions. For, that Kashmir was to be disputed, because the institutions were endangered from north of Kashmir____The assumed Russian threat.

Tribal invaders, whose territory between Afghanistan and Pakistan was itself cunningly created to stop another threat besides Russian. The threat was from Afghans, Turks and Persians. Truly, the " descendants of the Turk, Afghan and Persian invaders or of the native peoples whom the conquerors converted to Islam "¹³³ had created a country for themselves, but the British "Durand Line" has forced them to accept the tail as new Muslim State. The head was beyond " Durand Line ", the original home of Mahmood of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghorī. As a consequence, Pashtoon tribes were used by British to stop this historical threat besides Russian threat. The Tribal belt was itself another Buffer Territory and British have masterly used these Pashtoon tribes to save their institutions in new Pakistan and India.

The tribal chiefs were looked after in the same manner as Indian state rulers. For this reason, the chiefs reminded and complained about the British affection before Mountbatten when he visited them in Landi Kotal on 21st April 1947: " That the British

¹³³ Page 9, The Great Divide, H.V.Hodson, Karachi, 1989.

Prime Minister had not mentioned them in his statement of 20th February". ¹³⁴ Ofcourse, not all tribal chiefs loved British, some of them were forced to obey the British supremacy using British institutions____The `sacred' Political Agents. The powerful Political Agents were the actual authority in tribal Buffer territory. Their influence can be judged from the `Failure ' of Pandit Nehru's visit to Frontier in October 1946. Nehru was the then Foreign Minister of the Interim Government. ¹³⁵

Not only Pundit Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan blamed Political Agents for the failure of Nehru's tour, but a British himself accepted it. The plan to foil the tour was carried on under the instructions of British governor in N.W.F.P, Sir Olaf Caroe. When Mountbatten asked Colonel de La Fargue, the Chief Secretary of Sir Olaf Caroe, about the failure of Nehru's tour and other allegations leveled against the British governor, the Secretary informed: " That the Governor, though having great knowledge of the Frontier, was biased against his Congress Government; and that his continuance in

¹³⁴ Page 287, 2nd para, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹³⁵ Page: 279, 3rd para, H.V. Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

office was a menace to British prestige ".¹³⁶

Not only the troubled tour of Nehru and Ghafar Khan but the British Governors's influence over Muslim League in N.W.F.P. Proves that the real authority were the British not pro-Muslim League tribal Chiefs. British favoured Dr. Khan Sahib admit this. It is about 100,000 pro-Muslim League Pathan reception in honour of Mountbatten at Pesahwar airport. Dr. Khan Sahib informed Mountbatten that "the Governor (Sir OLAF CAROE) has collected them (the 100,000 Pathans)".¹³⁷

If 100,000 Muslim leaguers can be collected, and Nehru's tour can be spoiled by British political Agents under British Governor, then, it is not the tribal chiefs or the Muslim League who Organised the tribal invasion in Kashmir. It is the British authority itself which organized invasion in Kashmir. And to save their own face they blamed tribal chiefs and Muslim League, who were not the real force during partition.

The Pakistan Army Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frank Messervy was informed before his departure to England by N.W.F.P. Governor, Sir George

¹³⁶ Page 283, 2nd Para, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹³⁷ Ibid. Page 285, 3rd para.

Cunningham that Khan Abdul Qayoom Khan, his Chief Minister, is instigating tribals to invade Kashmir.¹³⁸ This is the most authentic blame to cover British face. But what kind of governor was this Cunningham who blamed Muslim League. Cunningham was master to use the mullahs in British favour. Khan Abdul Wali Khan quotes Cunningham regarding his previous intrigues to use mullahs for British propaganda: " I advised Kuli Khan (mullah) to moderate his anti-Bolshevik propaganda and to concentrate more on propaganda against Germany and Italy ".¹³⁹ It is the strategy when Hitler had pressed hard Soviet Union and Soviet threat was less feared by British. For playing such intriguing a character on the part of the Governor, can we argue that he was telling a lie to General Messervy as he himself had instigated the mullahs to invade Kashmir. Yes, his past character justifies our assertion. And for this reason, in one of the meetings of the tribals in Bagh (Kashmir) on 31st October 1947,¹⁴⁰ a tribal Chief had urged his fellows not to enter Kashmir for Jihad. " He said that it is not

¹³⁸ Page, 225-226, Ahmad Shuja Pasha, Kashmir Issue, Sang-e- Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992.

¹³⁹ Page 129, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Facts are Facts, Peshawar, 1988. (Urdu).

¹⁴⁰ Page. 220, Ahmad Shuja Pasha, Kashmir Issue, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992. (Urdu).

Jihad but British-originated riot ".¹⁴¹ The tribal chief was unsuccessful to stop the invasion. The tribal chief is Hashim, son of Mirak Kokikhel.

Still, one can argue that religious feelings of tribal Muslims had been ignited without British instigation. It was solely due to Muslim slaughter in Eastern Punjab. If it were really so, then why did these tribals direct their Jihad into Kashmir instead of Eastern Punjab, where Muslim disaster was most severe. To understand it, we ask, who were closely following daily developments of tribal invasion ? According to Ahmed Shuja Pasha, it was the British intelligence network which was collecting daily developments of the tribal invasion.¹⁴² Hence, British eye that vigiled tribal invasion also directed the Jihad to enter Kashmir, instead of Eastern Punjab.

Yes! the spy network which instigated and directed the tribal invasion was in the hands of the cunning Sir George Cunningham____The British Governor of N.W.F.P. after partition. He was directed by another British, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army, General Sir Frank Messervy.

That clears the picture regarding real authority

¹⁴¹ Page. 220.Ahmad Shuja Pasha, Kashmir Issue, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992. (Urdu).

¹⁴² Ibid page. 215

behind tribal invasion. This was finally proved when General Gracey, acting Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army in the absence of general Messervy refused to obey the orders of Quaid-e-Azam: "When Quaid-e-Azam learnt about Indian invasion in Kashmir, he ordered the British commander-in-Chief, Douglas Gracey to move Pakistan Army into Kashmir. Douglas Gracey refused to obey the orders of the Quaid ". ¹⁴³

General Gracey's disobedience leaves us with no doubt that the force that organized and implemented the tribal invasion in Kashmir was not Muslim league or tribal chiefs but the British masters themselves. General Akber Khan and his colleagues who silently assisted tribals accelerated the dispute game in Kashmir. British knew that Pakistan Army was assisting tribals, but they had to keep quiet because it helped to achieve their goal more quickly____The disputing of Kashmir.

The four steps uptill now, particularly tribal invasion, carried out with extreme diplomacy and strategy left the Maharaja with no choice but Kashmir's accession to India. He deplored: " Those savages (tribals) who had been directed towards the state (Kashmir) are advancing towards my summer capital (Sirinagar) so that they would capture whole

¹⁴³ Page 264, Ahmed Shuja Pasha, Kashmir Issue, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992, (Urdu).

Kashmir.----- Now, the only remedy is that I have to accede my state to Hindustan ".¹⁴⁴ Hari Singh appealed to India for accession with such an urgency on 26th October 1947.

To simplify British conspiracy in Kashmir, it is important to understand that____ why India could not send its army for Maharaja's assistance before his appeal for accession? The answer is with Mountbatten who had argued to send assistance after accession. Mountbatten had already warned that " If she (India) used armed intervention in Junagarh, without the Nawab's accession, Pakistan would claim the right to intervene with arms in Kashmir without the accession of the Maharaja ".¹⁴⁵ So to avoid Pakistan's armed intervention in Kashmir, he had argued with India to accept accession before armed assistance. It apparently benefitted India, but whom was to be done harm to actually? Such a procedure actually did harm India itself. Because, accession before armed assistance delayed to repulse raiders in due time. With such a delay, Mountbatten tactically wished tribal invaders to capture Srinager

¹⁴⁴ Page 95, Gilgit Before 1947 by Brig. Ghansara Singh, Jamwal (Urdu Translation). by Sher Baz Khan Barcha, Rawalpindi, 1986.

¹⁴⁵ Page 449, 3rd para, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

quickly who " were expected in Srinager at any time, perhaps within twenty four hours ".¹⁴⁶ That was the soldier Mountbatten's strategy behind 'armed assistance after accession'. But that strategy could not work, otherwise, Indians could have ruled Jammu only.

Unaware of British conspiracy, Indians accepted accession of Kashmir according to Mountbatten's strategy on 27 October 1947. And after the accession, Indian armed assistance reached Srinager at night on 27 October 1947.

The next conspiracy to be understood is: Why Mountbatten stressed Nehru to accept Kashmir's accession conditionally? Mountbatten did so to uphold political rights of Muslim Kashmiris, who were in Majority compared to Hindus. According to V.P. Menon, " Mountbatten expressed the strong opinion that accession should be conditional on the will of the people being ascertained by a plebiscite after the raiders had been driven out of the State and law and order had been restored ".¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Page: 451, 1st para, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹⁴⁷ Page: 453-454, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989. (last sentence on page 453 and 1st para on page 454)

Mountbatten's principled sympathy with Kashmiri Muslims is extreme hypocrisy. If British moral values were so healthy, then, why did British impose Hindu Gulab Singh on Kashmiri Muslims forcibly in 1846? Why were these Muslims sold by British to Hindu Gulab Singh for 75,00,000 rupees ? Why could British humanitarianism not speak when Muslims were made slaves of Hindu Gulab Singh ?

Mountbatten's next argument that Nehru was compelled to accept the principle that accession should be made subject to the will of the people, because of Junagarh issue is correct. But, who had compelled Nehru to accept this principle or trap,¹⁴⁸ as Mountbatten called it ? British blame Muslim League leadership of Pakistan. " Pakistan placed India in an acute dilemma from which any escape could be turned to the advantage of Pakistan..... If India demanded, as the alternative to force, a plebiscite in Junagarh, this could be adopted as general principle which when applied to Kashmir and Jammu would in Karachi's estimation, take the State to Pakistan ".¹⁴⁹ But the blame is baseless. Because, first of all, Muslim League never urged the Muslims of Indian states to accede to Pakistan with the help of plebiscite. Instead, they urged, as we earlier

¹⁴⁸ Ibid page 449

¹⁴⁹ Page 430, 1st para, H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

quoted Liaqat Ali Khan (Chapter-3 under step 3, ref. 131) to obey the decision of their rulers. Secondly if Muslim League wanted to achieve Kashmir through plebiscite, then why Qayum Khan organized tribal invasion in Kashmir, as British blame so. In other words, if Pakistan believed that through plebiscite it can achieve Kashmir, then, why she forced the Maharaja to accede to India by sending tribals, as British blame so. Without sending tribesmen, hence, without making the Maharaja enemy of Pakistan they could have achieved Kashmir. Because Muslims were in majority in Kashmir. Did Pakistan expect fair plebiscite in the presence of Indian army, and that is why tribesmen had been sent to invite them ? Nonsense ! It is for this reason British blame that Muslim League leadership laid the trap for Indians in Junagarh is absolutely absurd.

The actual plotters to lay this trap for Indians are British themselves. Because using this trap, Mountbatten argued Nehru that Kashmir's accession cannot be unconditional. It could only be accepted conditionally, up to the time when the will of Kashmiris had been ascertained through plebiscite. That is how Indians were forced to accept Kashmir in a disputed form.

In conclusion, Indians, their Governor-General Mountbatten accepted Kashmir conditionally on 27th October 1947, to store Indo-Pak confrontation for

future generations. Because, due to conditional accession Pakistan could claim Kashmir.

Mountbatten wrote on 27 October 1947 to Maharaja that " my Government has decided to accept the accession of Kashmir state with Hindustan ".¹⁵⁰ But the Governor-General of India explained the nature of this accession: " It is the desire of my Government that when law and order has been restored in Kashmir and raiders wiped out from its soil, the people will be entrusted with the decision of state's accession ".¹⁵¹

Mountbatten's such a conditional acceptance of Kashmir is known as Instrument of Accession (which we mentioned in chapter-3, step 2, ref. 120) concerning Kashmir. This Instrument of Accession is the legal basis of the Kashmir dispute. It is on these legal grounds that tamed people of Sub-Continent worship the British 'goddess of diplomacy' ____ The British disputation of Kashmir.

Yet, the people are to be tamed legally further

¹⁵⁰ Page: 96, Gilgit Before 1947, by: Brigadier Ghansara Singh, translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986. (Urdu).

¹⁵¹ Page 97, Gilgit before 1947, by Brigadier Ghansara Singh, translated by Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986, (Urdu).

to worship this goddess. Luckily, both Indians and Pakistanis themselves helped the British to tame them. They started and intensified the mutual fight over Kashmir. Initially tribal invaders fought with the newly entered Indian Army. After some time, Pakistan Army itself entered the battle ground. During this fight, Mountbatten arranged dialogues between the leaderships of Pakistan and India to settle his own created Kashmir dispute. In these dialogues both parties came out with impractical and unacceptable proposals to settle the issue. These dialogues and resultant proposals are well-known. These proposals could not settle the dispute and were doomed to fail, because, both parties were missing the actual reasons behind the dispute. At this moment, Mountbatten gave final artistical touches to the masterly created British 'goddess of diplomacy'. When he realized " That deadlock was complete "¹⁵² after unsuccessful dialogues between India and Pakistan, he " suggested that the United Nations Organization should be called upon ".¹⁵³ The master's suggestion was implemented by India. That ultimately turned Kashmir issue into internationally recognized dispute. International recognition of the Kashmir issue finally completed the British-created 'goddess of diplomacy'____the running sore of

¹⁵² Page. 465, (5th para). H.V.Hodson, The Great Divide, Karachi, 1989.

¹⁵³ Ibid. page. 465, (5th para).

Kashmir dispute.

The 'goddess of diplomacy', the legal chains in the hands of people of Sub-continent, will not break so easily. Because, those who created these chains were new type of men on globe. New because they had wiped out many 'goddesses' in Europe and had replaced them with scientific inventions. These scientific inventions originally helped the British to tame Indians.

Surely, these legal chains___the Kashmir dispute had practically tamed both Indians and Pakistanis. India cannot annex the Indian part of Kashmir, because she accepted it conditionally. Similarly, Pakistan cannot annex Pakistani part of Kashmir, because, the Ruler (Hari Singh) had conditionally acceded to India. The revolt of Muslims in Poonch originated by British, as we earlier proved, could only turn into a disputed freedom due to the conditional accession of Hari Singh.

Thus, Gulab Singh in 1846 and Hari Singh in 1947 were both used for one and the same objective___to stop Russian threat by Britishers. Britishers achieved this objective by creating New State in 1846 and then disputing the same state in 1947. As a New State or as a disputed State, Kashmir only served as a Buffer Zone, and nothing else.

Finally, the net result of the Great Game, the

British-created 'goddess of diplomacy' has its heart still untouched. The heart is Gilgit-Baltistan. The 'merger' of Gilgit-Baltistan with Pakistan, the game in the heart, is more naked and shameful. The original aim of this enquiry, the conspired merger of Gilgit-Baltistan is therefore the last but central part of the Great Game.

CHAPTER -IV

THE MYSTIC END OF THE GREAT GAME ---- THE MERGER OF GILGIT-BALTISTAN ---- WITH PAKISTAN

The Great Game around Gate Way to India was a political mystery uptill now. British masterly diplomacy and strategy had created this mystery. Ignorance to understand the mystery has helped the British tame the people of Sub-continent uptill now. Taming is in the shape of Kashmir conflict, created by British. In its own turn, ignorance is due to primitive and stagnant (caste system) social life in Sub-continent. Such a social life pattern created religious dogmatism and fanaticism. Consequently, such emotional a social vision or hysteric state of mind visualized blurred images of British diplomacy and strategy concerning Buffer Zone policy. The blurred vision, ultimately, reshaped and transformed the Great Game around Gate Way to India into a political mystery.

Fortunately, the inquiry upto this stage has reasonably de-mystified the part of the Great Game concerning us. The only part to be explored is the Mystic-End____the merger of Gilgit-Baltistan with Pakistan.

As we earlier said, the end part of the Great-

Game___the merger of Gilgit-Baltistan___is nothing except new British manoeuvring to continue the Old Policy of Buffer Zone. How it is so can only be understood if we look into the answer of the following basic questions.

First, why and what for British handed over the Hub ¹⁵⁴ of Asia (Gilgit-Baltistan) to Maharaja Hari Sing when they decided to hand over power to Indian National Congress and Muslim League? Secondly, who organized the revolt of Gilgit Scouts against Maharaja's representative to merge Gilgit-Baltistan with Pakistan ?

The answer to these questions dispels the mystery around the End Game___The merger of Gilgit-Baltistan with Pakistan. Before answering these two unorthodox questions, let us note how much Indian National Congress and Muslim League influenced the British decision to hand over Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja Hari Singh.

British legitimacy to hand over Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja of Kashmir originated on the basis of diplomatic "Lease Agreement of 1935." Under this agreement, British had leased from Maharaja of

¹⁵⁴ John Keay, The American Specialist of the Great Game defined Gilgit-Baltistan as Hub of Asia.(Introduction Page, 1.) The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

Kashmir the Gilgit Wazarat or Gilgit District for sixty years. When British were considering to terminate this Lease Agreement and hand over not only Gilgit District but the entire Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja, "Nehru has suggested that the question of terminating the agreement be reconsidered next spring when the nature of Kashmir relationship to the Union of India will be much clearer".¹⁵⁵ Similarly, "Mountbatten never seems to have consulted Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah or Liaquat Ali Khan on this question".¹⁵⁶ Simply, Congress leadership suggested to decide the merger of Gilgit-Baltistan after Kashmir's accession had been finalized. And Muslim League was unaware of the British decision to terminate the Lease Agreement and hence the merger of Gilgit-Baltistan with either new country. Such was the political awareness and farsightedness of both parties concerning the Gate Way to India____the Gilgit-Baltistan.

The ignorance and weakness of Congress and Muslim League was due to British political monopoly during partition. And it has been proved in the last chapter. Therefore, in such a situation Mountbatten "only took the approval of British Prime Minister to

¹⁵⁵ Page 315, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid Page 315

terminate the agreement".¹⁵⁷

After the approval "in view of June 3, 1947 announcement of the final lapse of British paramountcy, the whole of Gilgit Agency was handed over to the representative of the Maharaja, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, who assumed charge of the area as Governor on 1st August, 1947".¹⁵⁸ Why and what for Mountbatten handed over Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja's representative ?

Gilgit-Baltistan could only be made New type of Buffer Zone in the south of Hindukush by disputing it. To dispute Gilgit-Baltistan legally Mountbatten handed it over to Maharaja of Kashmir. Because British were going to make Kashmir a dispute by forcing Maharaja to accede to India conditionally. They did it according to their plan and it has been proved in the last chapter. Hence, conditionally to be acceded Kashmir swallowed Gilgit-Baltistan to dispute it similar to itself. Kashmir turned into a dispute due to conditional accession; Gilgit-Baltistan turned into a part of this dispute when it was handed over to ruler of Kashmir, who was going to accede conditionally. That ultimately turned Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir into a new type of Buffer

¹⁵⁷ Page 315, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid Page 315.

Zone. The zone was now in the shape of a disputed territory and hence British interests were saved from the assumed Soviet threat in Sub-continent.

No wonder! British used the Muslim majority issue in Kashmir to force Nehru to accept Kashmir conditionally and Gilgit-Baltistan's hundred percent Muslims were given into slavery of a Hindu ruler. Here, it is needless to mourn British duplicity or moral bankruptcy. Because the British had sacrificed their moral values to create new type of Buffer Zone. Such is the single rational truth which helps understand the conspiracy behind the disputation of Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan.

The British can argue that handing over of Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja was legally correct, because the area was a part of Maharajas's Kashmir from whom they had leased the area under the Lease Agreement of 1935. Such an argument is baseless. Because first of all the "agreement was only for the Gilgit Wazarat and not for the other parts of the Agency".¹⁵⁹ Also, "British had maintained that the Agency, outside the Wazarat, fell out of the territory of Kashmir,".¹⁶⁰ Secondly, the agreement itself was a diplomatic lie. The agreement made the deception

¹⁵⁹ Page 314, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid Page, 314.

that the real authority in Gilgit Wazarat was Maharaja's and British were secondary authority. The fact was just the opposite. British were real authority in Gilgit Wazarat as well as in other parts of Gilgit-Baltistan. This has been clearly proved in Chapter 2, under the topic: The Conquest of Gilgit-Baltistan___the way it was made part of Buffer Zone territory. In this topic it has been proved that how Maharaja was used by British to turn Gilgit-Baltistan into a Buffer Zone. It is on these grounds the British agreement is baseless and handing over of Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja is a "historic game of falsehood and treachery". ¹⁶¹

There was no other alternative for British except the fraud and treachery to dispute Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir. If British were so lawful, then Gilgit-Baltistan should have been handed over to local chieftains from whose ancestors they had snatched the area. Also Kashmir should have been transferred to Sikhs from whom they had snatched it and had made Gulab Singh its new ruler. It was a just and legal way to transfer the power in Sub-continent.

Hence the legal jugglery which disputed and thus turned Gilgit-Baltistan into New Buffer Zone is

¹⁶¹ Page 316, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

rather simple. But for the "Pre-Bronze Age people"¹⁶² of Gilgit Baltistan, who remained locked among huge mountains, hence "isolated for two thousand years"¹⁶³ such a British conspiracy may be unbelievable. Because they never thought about such a conspiracy. The more unbelievable is the answer to the next question: who organized the Gilgit Scouts revolt against Maharaja's representative to merge Gilgit-Baltistan with Pakistan?

The British officers, commanding Gilgit Scouts organized this revolt. A British historian of "Frontier Scouts" unwillingly admits this: "The fate of Gilgit appears to rest with Major William Brown".¹⁶⁴ The Commander of Gilgit Scouts, Major Brown organized the revolt and for this reason he is in a position to decide the fate of Gilgit which C.C.Trench the "historian" informs thus. Indian authority besides Ghansara Singh who studied this revolt confirms British information. Mr. S.Kumar Mahajan writes: "Brigadier Ghansara Singh was appointed the

¹⁶² Page VII, (Preface) Hunza, Dr. John Clark, Karachi, 1980. (American scientist, believes the people of Gilgit-Baltistan were at the stage of Pre-Bronze, upto 1949, when he first visited the area).

¹⁶³ Page, VII, (Preface), **HUNZA**, Dr. John Clark, Karachi, 1980.

¹⁶⁴ Page 329, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Governor. But no body thought of retiring the British officers of Gilgit Scouts, the local militia. At the *officers' behest*, the Gilgit Scouts arrested the Governor, a few Hindu and Sikh soldiers and raised Pak Flag". ¹⁶⁵ Finally, the ruler of Pakistan before Ayub Khan, Sikandar Mirza in his biography leaves us with no doubt: "In the most Northern sector, things went well, we were able to takeover Gilgit Agency and Skardu. Here a rising of the Gilgit Scouts was organized by the two British officers with the scouts who were pro-Pakistan". ¹⁶⁶

The mystic end of the Great Game, the game in the heart of the British 'goddess of diplomacy' unveils such a shameful and knavish British face. The way British used Gilgit Scouts, Muslim Officers of State Army and local Rajas in the above-mentioned revolt is something sorrowful for local people because it unfolds the dark pages of their history.

The following pages reveal the British conspiracy to organize Gilgit Scouts' revolt against Maharaja's representative to merge Gilgit-Baltistan with Pakistan. The information tells us how local people were prepared, how Rajas, Gilgit Scouts, and

¹⁶⁵ Page 329, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁶⁶ Page 297, Facts are Facts, By: Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Peshawar, 1988 (Urdu).

Muslim Officers of Kashmir State Army were used in this revolt.

PEOPLE MENTALLY PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE REVOLT:

Practically, "The actual revolution (revolt) started in Yasin on 3rd or 4th of August 1947, i.e., soon after the arrival of the Brigadier (Maharaja's representative) in Gilgit. It is said that Lt. Col. Bacon, the British Political Agent had imprisoned some of the leading men of Yasin, who had revolted against the local Raja. About three hundred men from Yasin came to Gilgit demanding release of their fellow men. The local persons were supported by the Mehtar of Chitral in their demands. ----the agitation grew stronger---- the whole region was in a state of political turmoil". ¹⁶⁷ Brigadier Ghansara Singh clearly understood the British Game. He notes: "I knew that this gift, i.e., the problems (revolt) were British bestowal". ¹⁶⁸

Turning people of Yasin against Maharaja's representative was a well calculated start. Because,

¹⁶⁷ Page 346, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁶⁸ Page 59, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Gilgit Before 1947, translated by Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986. (Urdu).

first of all, British have used Mehtar of Chitral, whose ancestors were known as pillars of British Policy ¹⁶⁹ in this region. Secondly, the people of Yasin, were worst enemies of Kashmir rulers due to Raja Gohar Aman. Raja Gohar Aman had defeated Sikh and Dogra rulers of Kashmir in the past. So British had used proper person and proper people against Maharaja's representative.

Next, British got the moral sympathies of Chilas people to legitimate the revolt. "Mr. Himalton, an ex-scout (Gilgit Scouts) officer before leaving for Peshawar had openly told the people in Chilas that they don't need to worry because within 6 months Pakistan will be established in this area". ¹⁷⁰ British had once again chosen the most zealous Muslims to fulfill their schemes which they had themselves planned.

The British-planned revolt, inaugurated using the people of Yasin and Chilas, now needed diplomatic backing. This was accomplished using Mirs and Rajas, the British Head in the region.

¹⁶⁹ Page 167, John Keay, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

¹⁷⁰ Page 60, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Gilgit before 1947, Translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, 1986. Rawalpindi, (Urdu).

MIRS AND RAJAS SERVE THE MASTERS WHO EMPLOYED THEM:

The British-appointed Mirs and Rajas, the opposite of nationalist Gohar Aman and anti-British Safdar Khan, provided diplomatic backing to the revolt which was just inaugurated. British managed to seek this backing in Srinager. When British handed over Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja of Kashmir after terminating the 1935 Lease Agreement, "Maharaja had invited the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar and Raja of Punial to Srinager". ¹⁷¹ The purpose of invitation was "consultation and probably to sound a new note of advice or warning for towing the line of the State". ¹⁷² Naturally, the Mirs and Rajas should have hypocritically "voiced their loyalty to the Maharaja" ¹⁷³ in Srinager. But actually the Rajas and Mirs held secret meetings in Srinager Guest House with (Sardar) Ibrahim Poonchi with the help of Captain Ehsan Ali (of Nagar). ¹⁷⁴ What was the outcome of Srinager meeting? After returning from Srinager

¹⁷¹ Page 316, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁷² Ibid Page 316

¹⁷³ Ibid Page 345

¹⁷⁴ Page 74, Brigadier Ghansara Sing, Gilgit before 1947, translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986. (Urdu)

"While staying in Gilgit, Mir of Hunza showed Pak Flag to his friends and proceeded to Hunza". ¹⁷⁵

When Mir of Hunza showed Pak Flag in Gilgit, it signaled that Mirs and Rajas in Srinager were prepared to merge with Pakistan before Maharaja's accession to India. But who prepared them ? Is it Ibrahim Poonchi or Captain Ehsan Ali ? Neither of them prepared these Rajas to merge with Pakistan. Mirs and Rajas were not so much weak to be convinced by a Captain and a Sardar. On the contrary, their own Sardar, the British prepared them who had indirectly invited them ¹⁷⁶ in the name of Maharaja and who had originally planned the Gilgit Scouts' revolt. The plotters behind the revolt have already been exposed by British, Indian and Pakistani authors simultaneously.

Here it should be clear that captain Ehsan Ali was not a member of revolting Muslim Officers of State army who are mentioned by Col. Hassan Khan in his book on page 94. On the contrary, Col. Hassan Khan regarded Captain Ehsan Ali pro-Dogra and he ordered to arrest him alongwith Col. Majeed

¹⁷⁵ Page 74, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Gilgit Before 1947, translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986, (Urdu).

¹⁷⁶ Page 107, Col. Mirza Hassan Khan, Sword to Chain, Islamabad. (Urdu) Topic:--> میروں کی سری نگر طلبی

at Bop-Singh Ki Pari on 2nd November 1947.¹⁷⁷ The Captain who worked as a bridge between Mirs, Rajas and Ibrahim Poonchi under British scheme was transferred to Bunji to help British-organized Gilgit Scouts' revolt. But Col. Hassan Khan was unaware of this plot. Also Col. Hassan Khan's warning to Mirs and Rajas in Srinager¹⁷⁸ not to obey Maharaja never forced Mirs and Rajas to accept Pakistan mentally. Col. Hassan Khan was totally unaware of English planning behind Gilgit Scouts' revolt, which we will soon learn.

So, British achieved diplomatic backing for Gilgit Scouts revolt in Srinager. Nevertheless, diplomatic tools, the Mirs and Rajas, were also prepared in Gilgit itself.

To demoralise Maharaja's representative on local diplomatic front, Major Brown " Suggested a referendum to Governor (Pakistan versus Hindustan)".¹⁷⁹ Governor" agreed ".¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Page 133, Col. Mirza Hasan Khan, *Sword to Chain*, Islamabad, (Urdu) Topic:--- > عبوري حکومت

¹⁷⁸ Page 345, Dr. A.H.Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. Page, 347

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. Page, 347

And he " asked Mirs and Rajas for opinion ".¹⁸¹ Major Brown knew that Mirs and Rajas were pro-Pakistan as they were already prepared in Srinager Guest House and for this reason he suggested the idea of referendum to Governor. But when " Ghansara Singh tells him the Mir (Hunza) has assured loyalty to His Highness (Hari Singh). Brown is worried ".¹⁸² Therefore " Brown gets on phone, first himself, then Subedar Major Babar Khan, the Hunza Mir to talk in his own dialect. The Hunza Mir assures the Subedar major that he has declared for Pakistan. Brown is satisfied ".¹⁸³ Thus the idea of referendum worked well and Ghansara Singh was actually defeated hence demoralised on diplomatic front.

That is how Mirs and Rajas, the British diplomatic tools in the region, provided diplomatic backing to British organized Gilgit Scouts' revolt. But it was not the end; the tools were again used after the revolt also: " Lt. Col. Bacon visited Gilgit in January 1948. (Pakistani) Political Agent arranged the meeting between Col. Bacon and Mirs of Hunza and Nagar. Col. Bacon met the Mirs and left for

¹⁸¹ Page: 347, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989

¹⁸² Page: 347. Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁸³ Ibid. Page, 347

Peshawar by aeroplane the same day. After this meeting the attack on Skardu started ".¹⁸⁴

Moreover, the use of Mirs and Rajas was not confined to diplomatic backing. They were real British head in the region, which controlled the British arm, the Gilgit Scouts. How this arm was used to organize the revolt is the main part of the revolt itself.

BRITISH ARM, GILGIT SCOUTS ARE USED TO PREPARE THE REVOLT:

To understand how Gilgit Scouts were prepared for the revolt, it is better to answer the following basic question which we have consciously ignored uptill now:

Gilgit-Baltistan was disputed when British handed it over to Maharaja of Kashmir after the abrogation of fictitious 1935 Lease Agreement. Why then British needed to organize the Gilgit Scouts' revolt? Surely Gilgit-Baltistan was disputed already legally, but British needed to dispute it militarily, and for that Gilgit Scouts' revolt, was organised. It needed to be disputed twice. Why double disputation was necessary ? Because Gilgit-Baltistan was the actual

¹⁸⁴ Page 75, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Gilgit Before 1947, Translated by Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986. (Urdu).

geographical strip which bordered the British rival power____the new Russia, the former Soviet Union. Kashmir had no such direct geographical link with Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

It is because of this strategic location John Keay calls Gilgit-Baltistan the Hub of Asia, Fulcrum of Asia, *flash point* of Asia* which was known to British as Gate Way to India. Now, to dispute such a sensitive part of Asia on military front, British organised the Gilgit Scouts' revolt.

The part played by the people and Rajas to organize the revolt has already been told. Now before British handed over Gilgit-Baltistan to Maharaja of Kashmir, they " Had given option to the local civil and military officers to give their choice either for Pakistan or for India ".¹⁸⁵ This was the " greatest trouble created by the British themselves"¹⁸⁶ because the option signaled to revolt against Maharaja's coming representative if Maharaja accedes to India. It was a signal because British had already prepared Scout OFFICERS' elders, the Rajas and Mirs, in

¹⁸⁵ Page; 315-316, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989

¹⁸⁶ Ibid page: 315

* The American Specialist of the Great Game, Page 1, The Gilgit Game, Karachi, 1990.

favour of Pakistan in Srinager Guest House. The Scout officers were bound to cooperate with their elders ____The Mirs and Rajas.

The option given by British (Major Brown and captain Matheison) to the local civil and military officers to serve either Pakistan or India was a clear but shrewd persuasion to revolt against Maharaja's representative. Following this line of persuasion Junior Commissioned Officers of Gilgit Scouts and Civil Officers met Brigadier Ghansara Singh who had reached Gilgit on 30th July 1947. " In the evening of 30th July Subedar Major Babar and other Junior Commissioned Officers of Gilgit Scouts came to see him and the Commander-in-Chief of the State (who had accompanied him from Srinager) and explicitly told that they had all opted for Pakistan. However, they presented twelve demands to serve the state. Next day all the civil officers came to see him and said that they had decided to serve Pakistan. If their pay should be increased, they would serve the State but in the meanwhile they stopped working in the offices with few exceptions of those who were non-locals." ¹⁸⁷ Who were behind this disobedience ? Brigadier Ghansara Singh informs that " with the passage of time it revealed that there was British hand behind the non-cooperation of Scouts and civil employees. Britishers had exhausted all the items of

¹⁸⁷ Page: 334-335, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

supply (Ghee, Cloth, Sugar etc) to create problems for me ".¹⁸⁸ And "Thus defaming State machinery they had planned to establish Pakistan ".¹⁸⁹

Ghansara Singh's blame proves to be correct when Major General Scott (Commander-in-Chief of Kashmir State Forces) did not recognize the status of the Scouts. (The scouts had demanded to recognize their status). According to Shah Khan " Ghansara Singh accepted the demands, Major General Scott did not recognize the status of the Scouts ".¹⁹⁰ What was the result of General Scott's decision ? According to Shah Khan: " Bitter and annoyed as already we were on the decision of General Scott, it was decided to over throw the alien rule by force ".¹⁹¹ Thus General Scott consciously did not accept Scouts demand to instigate them to revolt against Maharaja's representative. Hence Ghansara Singh's blame is an undeniable truth.

¹⁸⁸ Page: 57, Briagadier Ghan Sara Singh, Gilgit before 1947, Translated by Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawal Pindi, 1986 (Urdu).

¹⁸⁹ Page: 55, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Gilgit Before 1947, Translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawal Pindi, 1986, (Urdu).

¹⁹⁰ Page: 340, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. Page 340.

Surely, it is an undeniable truth. Only Ghansara Singh failed to point out the technique used by British to create the non-cooperation (actually rebellion) of Gilgit Scouts and Civil Officers against him. The technique which was used by British was a rumour. The rumour was spread as Maharaja Hari Singh's decision. It said " that the Gilgit Scouts, who were cent percent Muslim, should gradually be disbanded so that any possible armed opposition from Muslims to the proposed accession was forestalled. Major Ehsan Ali, a Muslim officer, now posted to his home district, Gilgit, was told in an unguarded moment by a high Dogra dignitary in Srinager that Gilgit Scouts would soon be disbanded as their loyalty to Maharaja was suspect.

This news had leaked out to the Scouts through Raja Karim Khan, then posted in Srinager".¹⁹² The rumour further said that " it came to be known that 6th Jammu and Kashmir Infantry Battalion of the State Forces, presently stationed at Bunji, was being moved to the Gilgit cantonment in the barracks of the Gilgit Scouts. It was further confirmed that the Scouts would be relieved of their responsibilities at all posts. It led to only conclusions: either the corps would be disbanded or, if allowed to exist, would be degraded to a second-rate irregular militia subservient to the State Force. It, in both cases, meant loss of

¹⁹² page 338, Dr, A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad. 1989.

personal respect of the VCO's who had hitherto enjoyed absolute power and preferential treatment
" 193

How is the above information a rumour ? Dr. A.H.Dani quotes it, and proves himself that it was a rumour. According to him: " Such an intention of the Maharaja is nowhere attested in the Indian sources.....Col. Hassan, in his book, himself, refutes the rumour of shifting the 6th Battalion to Gilgit cantonment ".¹⁹⁴ Yes, logically it was a rumour because under no circumstances could Gilgit Scouts___the real British Arm be replaced by State Forces in Gilgit where British had planned to revolt against Maharaja's representative.

Next, who spread this rumour ? We already said that it was British. It is right because the rumour served to instigate Gilgit Scouts' against Ghansara Singh which was planned by British. Absolutely, it instigated scouts against Ghansara Singh, and has been proved by Shah Khan (the Royal J.C.O. of Gilgit Scouts). According to him: " When strong rumours about the arrival of the State Force were in circulation, we held a conference, where it was

¹⁹³ Page, 338, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁹⁴ Page: 338, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

decided that we should put forward our demand to Brigadier Ghansara Singh ".¹⁹⁵

Such is the truth in Ghansara Singh's blame of British hand behind Scouts and Civil officer's non-cooperation (rebellion) against him. Moreover, it is worthy to note that Commander-in-Chief of State Forces, General L.H.Scott instigated Scouts by not recognizing Scouts' status. General Scott's procedure coincided with the Commander-in-Chief of India's who had also instigated ex-soldiers of Poonch against Hari Singh. Obviously, top most British military officers needed same technique to create new type of Buffer Zone, in the south of Hindukush.

The option to join either Pakistan or India, the rumour of shifting 6th Kashmir Battalion to Gilgit, the non-recognition of scout status were indirect but shrewd British techniques to organize scouts' revolt; yet they also used direct means to achieve the same goal.

The direct means were personal secret meetings of British officers with scout leaders. Ghansara Singh clearly tells us about these direct meetings. According to him: "A strange anxiety prevailed among scouts, Scouts Major Brown, Lieutenant Ghulam Haider and Subedar Major Raja

¹⁹⁵ Page: 340, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Babar Khan were holding secret meetings...."¹⁹⁶ What could be the agenda of such secret meetings? Luckily, lieutenant Haider's diary leaks out the agenda. Lieutenant Haider's diary records a meeting after the surrender of Brigadier Ghansara Singh. In this meeting were Brown, Hassan, Shah Rais, J.C.O's, Subedar Major Babar Khan and Ghulam Haider. The meeting had the agenda of the formation of the Provisional Government ¹⁹⁷ in Gilgit. The diary quoted by Dr. A.H.Dani says, in this meeting "nothing decided. Brown leaves foolishly to come back at 4. P.m. Some carry on in his absence. Want to expel him. Keep him under arrest. Majority agrees. Instructions for his arrest sent up. A little quarrel with some___if he is not in (Provisional Government), I will go out..... I know he had Pak flag dimension in file. He had message from A.Q. Khan (Abdul Qayyum Khan), then Chief minister of N.W.F.P.) If we throw him out chaos sure. His influence with Mirs good. He had gambled his life. Finally I say that if he is not in, I resign ".¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Page 66, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Gilgit Before 1947, Translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986. (Urdu).

¹⁹⁷ Page 354, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

¹⁹⁸ Page, 354, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Under-lined words of Haider's diary clearly show that Brown was leading Haider and Babar in the secret meetings pointed out by Ghansara Singh above. Because he was planning to merge with Pakistan and that is why he had Pak flag dimensions and also in touch with Pak officials, the N.W.F.P Chief Minister.

So, definitely Brown was leading and teaching Haider and Babar to revolt against Maharaja's representative to merge with Pakistan. He had fully captured Haider and Babar; that is why Haider threatens to resign if Brown is expelled from the Provisional Government of Gilgit. *

Also Major William Brown was the central figure in Gilgit Scouts' revolt, that is why he alongwith Captain Matheison volunteered to bring Pakistan's administration to Gilgit. This is again confirmed from Lt. Ghulam Haider's diary: " On 8th November 1947, Brown and Matheison wanted to go to Pakistan as delegation ".¹⁹⁹

Keeping in mind such a leading position of Major Brown, Scout Officers request him to contact

¹⁹⁹ Page: 357, Dr. A..H. Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

* Hassan Khan wanted to expell Brown and he ordered to arrest him, Page 131, Hassan Khan, Sword to Chain, Islamabad, (Urdu). Topic. شاہی پولو گراؤنڈ میں اجتماع

privately Col. Bacon (British Political Agent Before Ghansara Singh) to send Pakistan's administration to Gilgit. This is again confirmed from Ghulam Haider's diary. It says, " on 11th November 1947___Brown was asked to contact Col. Bacon privately as Pakistan seemed sleeping over our demand to take Gilgit Administration ".²⁰⁰

What was the reward for Haider and Babar who worked for Brown to organize the revolt ? Quoting Haider's diary Dr.A.H.Dani informs about the reward. He says " Brown left for Peshawar on 26th November(1947) with the assurance, given by Political Agent (Sardar Mohammad Alam), that Pakistan would recognize the claim of Kashmir State Army Officers to Commission ".²⁰¹ Such was the reward for Lt. Haider and his friends. And what about Babar ? " Brown returned from Peshawar on 8th December 1947 with a letter for Sardar Mohammad Alam and a scheme for 500 more recruits in Scouts and Commission of Lieutenantship for Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan. On 9th December 1947 at 3.P.M. the Political Agent held a ceremony and

²⁰⁰ Page, 357, Dr A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

²⁰¹ Ibid page, 358.

invested Subedar Major with Commission ".²⁰² Yes, Babar had fully served Brown that is why he brings the heavenly reward for him prior to Shah Khan. And for this reason " on 31st December 1947, Mir of Hunza was pressing the Political Agent for the promotion of Shah Khan ".²⁰³ (The uncle of Mir of Hunza).

Haider's diary quoted by Dr. A.H.Dani proves that Brown was still the real authority in Gilgit after Pakistan took the charge of the area. That is why Brown brings alongwith him the scheme of 500 more recruits in Scouts.

Still further, the diary once again proves the very fact that Scout's demands put before Ghansara Singh were engineered by British and that is why the whole demand of scouts finally bears the single holy fruit, the promotion of Subedar Major Babar____the local head of British arm, the Gilgit Scouts. Surely, British had to reward their most obedient servant. It is because of this remarkable service British still remember Babar as "One of the brightest and most charming of the local officers.-----He was a Nagri but his sister married to the Mir of Hunza, which made him *persona grata* in both states. Pre-eminently a

²⁰² Page, 359, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

²⁰³ Ibid page, 359.

man whose power depended on prestige, not his prestige on power, he was very influential". ²⁰⁴

Ofcourse, Raja Babar Khan was very influential in Gilgit Scouts. He was influential because British had promoted to J.C.O rank only the loyal men of Mirs and Rajas. These loyal J.C.O's had to obey their Royal J.C.O's ___ Babar and Shah Khan. And for this reason one can not directly blame these loyal J.C.O's for the part they were bound to play.

Still we have two additional local influential men who unlike Babar and Shah Khan did not collaborate with Brown and Matheison. But failed to resist and understand the British game to dispute Gilgit-Baltistan, hence the creation of New Buffer Zone. They are Raja Shah Rais Khan and Col. Hassan Khan.

²⁰⁴ Page: 339, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Ares of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

SHAH RAIS FAILED TO RESIST AND HASSAN KHAN FAILED TO UNDERSTAND BRITISH PLANNING TO ORGANISE GILGIT SCOUTS REVOLT:

First, Raja Shah Rais Khan. The part he played during 1947 when British were manoeuvring to dispute Gilgit-Baltistan is explained by C.C. Trench: "The second complication was the existence of an underground Liberation Front, ostensibly for Pakistan but to some extent aiming at complete independence with lucrative opportunities for chief conspirators. They proposed to depose the Mirs and Rajas____ the only forces, apart from the Scouts, for continuity and administration____ whom one of the plotters swore to hang from Gilgit Bridge. Among their leading lights was an able, influential but devious ex-subedar of scouts, Shah Rais Khan, a relative of the Raja of Gilgit. They had sympathisers among the more naive scouts and in the Muslim Company of the Battalion at Bunji, but it was impossible to know how many".

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This information of C.C. Trench proves that Shah Rais Khan was not loyal to British, because he was devious. He was also favoured by naive Scouts. The way British historian of " Frontier Scouts ", C.C.T Trench portrays Shah Rais is understandable,

²⁰⁵ Page 339-340, Dr.A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

because he was aiming to some extent complete independence of Gilgit and was proposing to depose Mirs and Rajas _____ the British head in the region.

Raja Shah Rais Khan's planning has been confirmed by Col. Hasan Khan and Lt. Ghulam Haider.

Hassan Khan confirms that Shah Rais opposed Mirs and Rajas and they both helped each other. Describing the initial stages of Provisional Government in Gilgit, he says that " I appointed a fellow countryman, Raja Shah Rais as President of the Agency. Though Shah Rais desired to preside but was not willing to play any active role. He was deadly opposed by all Mirs and Rajas ".²⁰⁶

Shah Rais was not so much passive to implement his plan which Hasan Khan claims so. He had the sympathies of naive Scouts in Gilgit besides those of Hassan Khan at Bunji. Only Shah Rais was weak because Mirs and Rajas, hence Babar and Shah Khan were opposing him. Moreover his basic weakness is the failure to understand why Mirs and Rajas were opposing him.

Mirs and Rajas opposed Shah Rais because

²⁰⁶ Page 132, Col. Mirza Hassan Khan, **Sword to Chain**, Islamabad, (Urdu). Topic. عبوری حکومت

they had already sided with British who had to implement their criminal scheme, and it has been proved earlier. The British temptations (promotions of Babar and Shah Khan) had already blinded Mirs and Rajas and that is why Shah Rais was opposed.

Such are the reasons behind Mirs' and Rajas' opposition which Shah Rais failed to understand. Under these conditions Shah Rais failed to resist British game although he pressed hard to implement his own scheme. This is confirmed from Haider's diary: "On 11th November 1947 ____ Shah Rais thinks in terms of independence and to be the Raja of Gilgit. When told about the finances, he was dumb and silent". ²⁰⁷

Yes, Shah Rais actually wanted the independence of Gilgit; this is again confirmed from Lt. Haider's diary: "On 6th November 1947 ____ Again wire sent to Khan Abdul Qayum Khan to fly to Gilgit with Lt, Col. Bacon to stop confusion due to local intrigues but President Shah Rais Khan was not consulted. He says Punial accession to Pakistan should not be wired". ²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Page 357, Dr.A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

²⁰⁸ Page 356-357, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Obviously, Britishers and their collaborators had to ignore poor Gilgiti, the President of Provisional Government to dispute Gilgit-Baltistan. Yet the people of Gilgit-Baltistan had to remember and fully respect Raja Shah Rais Khan for his resistance against Britishers and their collaborators. Moreover, Shah Rais failed to resist British Game yet he is the only genuine nationalist during 1947 episode.

The episode further unveils another local influential person who failed to understand British planning to organise Scouts revolt; hence the entire game to dispute Gilgit-Baltistan. The man is Col. Hassan Khan who was unaware of British plan to organise Scouts' revolt. Major Brown, the Commanding Officer of Gilgit Scouts is once again exposed that he was central figure to organise the revolt. He is exposed when he ordered to disconnect Gilgit and Bunji. Bunji was the center of Military Force where Sikh and Dogra forces were stationed. If the link between Gilgit and Bunji was not destroyed, there was the real danger that Sikhs and Dogras might have reached Gilgit to rescue Ghansara Singh who was besieged by Gilgit Scouts under British planning. To disconnect such an important military link Major Brown had already planned and ordered. This is verified by Col. Hassan Khan himself who erroneously considered himself the sole planner of the revolt against Maharaja's representative. He informs that "When he asked Major Brown on first November 1947 to order Chilas Scouts to capture

Juglot Post and control the Ramghat and Partap Bridges, Brown answered that he had already sent the orders".²⁰⁹ Brown further humiliated Col. Hassan Khan and said "Great men think alike".²¹⁰ After the destruction of these important bridges, without the orders of Col. Hassan Khan, he admits: "It seems that two intrigues were running parallel to each other. My colleagues were searching the coast by simultaneously boarding mine and Brown's ship".²¹¹

Absolutely, two intrigues were running parallel to each other. The weak intrigue of Hassan Khan was used by powerful intrigue of British, which Col. Hassan Khan never understood. Such is the British military skill to organise Scout's revolt.

Hassan Khan's intrigue to revolt against Maharaja and accede to Pakistan as soon as British quit Sub-continent was known to British. Hence, from now onwards British for the first time planned to use him in their Gilgit Game. For this reason he is transferred to Bunji (Gilgit) alongwith other Muslim officers of Kashmir State Army. Dr. A.H.Dani

²⁰⁹ Page 134, Col. Hassan Khan, Sword to Chain, Islamabad, (Urdu). Topic:

²¹⁰ Ibid Page 134 آزمائش کی گھڑی بونجی کی طرف پیش قدمی

²¹¹ Ibid Page 140, Col. Hassan Khan, Sword to Chain, Islamabad, (Urdu), Topic:

شہنشاہی حکمت عملی! بے بار شرط بر خیز!

informs: "The revolution (Hassan Khan's intrigue) could not take place in Kashmir as the officers were transferred when the secret divulged. Captain Hassan Khan reached Bunji in the beginning of September".²¹² Maharaja Hari Singh had not transferred Captain Hassan Khan. Why should he transfer a proven conspirator to his home district (Gilgit), which Dogra Maharajas had been unable to control fully. Did Maharaja think that such an uncontrollable area was safe in the hands of a person who had planned to revolt against him ? Absolutely not. So, it were British who transferred Hassan Khan to use him in the merger of Gilgit-Baltistan with Pakistan. The merger that was planned to be in disputed form.

Yes! The master gamblers needed Hassan Khan in his home district now, just before the fraudulent accession of the area with Pakistan. Because he was a zealous Muslim for Pakistan. Before it, British never transferred Hassan Khan to Gilgit when they themselves ruled Gilgit. This game on the part of British was unimaginable for Col. Hassan Khan. When he reached Bunji he again intrigued to revolt against Maharaja's representative.

He met Lt. Ghulam Haider on 15th October 1947 at the anniversary celebrations of Hari Singh arranged by Ghansara Singh. Through Lt. Haider

²¹² Page 343-344, Dr. A.H.Dani, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.

Hassan Khan met Babar. Now Hassan Khan was fully trapped by Lt. Haider and Babar who were already captured and preached by Brown to organise the Scouts revolt. The weak intriguer fell into the trap of powerful intriguers ____ the British. Hassan Khan never knew that Major Ehsan Ali at Bunji and Lt. Ghulam Haider at Gilgit had already been working under British instructions which we proved earlier. He erroneously took Major Ehsan Ali as pro-Dogra and Lt. Haider as his own man.

Moreover, Hassan Khan never understood that his Commanding Officer at Bunji, Col. Majeed whom he arrested was also secretly backing him under British instructions. Col. Majeed helped Hassan Khan when the later had actually raised slogans in favour of Pakistan while marching from Srinager to Bunji. Col. Majeed said in his official report that "The allegations levelled against 6th Kashmir Infantry (headed by Hassan Khan) had been proved baseless after my inquiry. Hassan Khan and his company have not raised pro-Pakistan slogans. The slogans were merely of religious nature". ²¹³

Thus military adventurism of Hassan Khan which he called an intrigue was defeated and used by

²¹³ Page 61-62, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Gilgit before 1947 Translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986. (Urdu).

original Cool mindedlly-planned intrigue of Britishers. Hassan Khan could not dare independence of Gilgit similar to Raja Shah Rais, yet he dared to order the arrest of Brown. For this reason Hassan Khan cannot be known as British Collaborator during 1947 episode.

So, that is how different collaborators and non-collaborators were prepared and used by the British to revolt against Maharaja's representative. The revolt that was planned to dispute Gilgit-Baltistan on military front.

The story behind the criminal end of the British Game certainly unfolds the darkest pages of the history of Gilgit-Baltistan. Because it completely negates the popular claim; hence, the myth that zealous Muslims of Gilgit-Baltistan under the leadership of Babar and Hassan liberated themselves from the Dogra Raj and voluntarily acceded to Pakistan. On the contrary it is the cunning new British manoeuvring to create new Buffer Zone, which can be idiomatically described in a local saying as "Leopard's hunt in fox's skin". The leopard is British who perfectly disguised themselves as Gilgit Scouts, Muslim officers of State army and the Mirs and Rajas. British planned and executed it by using the above-mentioned characters in the plot to revolt against Maharaja's representative. The local characters used in the revolt thought that the successful end of the revolt can liberate Gilgit-

Baltistan. But it was a wishful thinking. Maharaja's State was already disputed due to conditional accession with India, how the revolt against him could have liberated Gilgit-Baltistan ? They were revolting against a ruler who himself was not free!

On the contrary, Gilgit-Baltistan could have been liberated as a result of this revolt, if Kashmir had unconditionally and genuinely acceded to India. So, the revolt could not alter the legally disputed nature of Gilgit-Baltistan. We have to remember Gilgit-Baltistan had turned into a dispute when it was handed over to Maharaja of Kashmir. Because he had acceded to India, in a disputed form.

Hence as a consequence of this revolt Pakistan was forced to accept the accession* of Gilgit-Baltistan conditionally or in disputed form. This is evident from the letter of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan written to Governor of N.W.F.P. on 10th March, 1948: "The civil and political administration of the Gilgit Agency must henceforth be regarded as de facto responsibility of the Pakistan Government, and all matters relevant to the security and law and order in that area must be viewed in the light of this responsibility".²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Point No. 4,

آئینی درخواست زیر آرٹیکل (۳) ۱۸۴ آئین اسلامی جمہوریہ پاکستان بمراد استقرار بنیادی انسانی حقوق۔ عرضی۔ حبیب الوہاب الخیری۔ وکیل عدالتہائے عالیہ و عظمیٰ پاکستان اصالتاً۔ اسلام آباد۔

Surely, Pakistan accepted Gilgit - Baltistan in *de facto* form, not in *de jure* form, that is why Prime Minister of Pakistan clarifies that administration of the area is his *de facto* responsibility.

This *de facto* responsibility of Pakistan enabled its rulers to bring the army into Gilgit-Baltistan. The Pak Army now looked after the Gate Way to India___the ultimate aim of British planning to organise Scout Revolt. Hence, Gilgit-Baltistan was disputed on military front due to this revolt and thus guaranteed the safety of 'New Buffer Zone'.

Such is the story of double disputation of Gilgit-Baltistan, and Pakistan's helplessness to declare Gilgit-Baltistan as a legal part of Pakistan. It is because of this helplessness Pakistan offers different excuses when local people demand Constitutional Rights.

The story of besieging Maharaja's representative is not so much thrilling and eventful which has been made by Babar and Hassan Khan to

*(Note from back page)

The accession was engineered by British, because President of the Provisional Government, Shah Rais was pressing hard for the Independence of Gilgit and also he opposed the accession of Punial with Pakistan, Reference: 207, 208, this Book

own a false credit. Ghansara Singh himself informs that his arrest was supervised by Brown. "At midnight 31st October about hundred Scouts of Gilgit besieged my residence under the leadership of Major Brown, Lt. Haider Khan and Subedar Major Babar Khan". ²¹⁵

Also the events after the disputed accession of Gilgit Baltistan with Pakistan are meaningless to be described as freedom struggle of Gilgit Scouts against Indian Army. Because Gilgit-Baltistan was already turned into a dispute when Pakistan accepted the administration of the area in de facto form.

CONCLUSION:

The foregoing enquiry covers the history of Gilgit-Baltistan for a period of one and half century. The history of intrigues and conspiracies which remained a mystery uptill now. The period is about the modern history of Gilgit-Baltistan, which started when British began to tame Karakorum - Hindukush mountains and its people. Before British, god-kings who had migrated from Central Asia ruled mountain-worshippers since 8th century. After these Pre-Bronze age kings British occupationists have kept hostage a people who were already the hostage of

²¹⁵ Page 67, Brigadier Ghabsara Singh, Gilgit before 1947, Translated by: Sher Baz Ali Khan Bercha, Rawalpindi, 1986. (Urdu).

huge mountains for about four thousand years. Hostage in the hands of Britishers is far worse compared to that of mountains'.

British started exploring the wildest nature in the Hub of Asia in 1830's and within half a century when Hunza-Nagar was captured in 1891, they completed the Buffer Zone against Tsarist Russia. British first used Gilgit-Baltistan as a base to control Central Asia, but when the strategy failed, they turned it into a Buffer Zone. The Buffer Zone was created in the name of assumed Russian threat to British India. The threat never materialized in reality; hence, Buffer Zone again served as a military base in a strategically important area to dominate Russians and Chinese in Asia. The base was also created to legitimise British Raj in Sub-continent.

To create this Buffer Zone British first created a New State, the Kashmir, under Gulab Singh and then Ghulab Singh was encouraged to capture Gilgit-Baltistan. Kashmiri Maharajas failed to capture Gilgit-Baltistan but they paved the way for British occupationists. Finally, when British themselves occupied Gilgit-Baltistan they created the said Buffer Zone. Thus-created, the Buffer Zone continued to serve British for about a half century upto 1947. We should remember Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir were two separate Buffer Zones which served same British interests.

When British decided to hand over power to Muslim League and Indian Congress they again created two New Buffer Zones by disputing Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir in 1947 and are enforce since half a century.

Thus Gilgit-Baltistan as well as Kashmir never turned into a dispute as a consequence of Muslim League or Indian Congress's struggle against British. On the contrary, both turned into a dispute because of British planning to create new Buffer Zones to safeguard British Institutions in divided Sub-continent.

Therefore Gilgit-Baltistan, as well as Kashmir, are still occupied by British legally. Because the two have been turned into two New Buffer Zones under British Great Game. Hence, India and Pakistan are serving British interests by continuing and strengthening the two new Buffer Zones. Consequently, this legitimises that both India and Pakistan should completely withdraw from both parts of Kashmir; and Pakistan from Gilgit-Baltistan, and let people of Kashmir decide whether they want to remain independent or join either country.

As far as Gilgit-Baltistan is concerned, it could not and had not been conquered by Dogra rulers of Kashmir. On the contrary, these rulers were used by British and thus British themselves conquered Gilgit-Baltistan. Therefore Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir

remained as two separate political entities. Only British overlapped them to create Buffer Zones and new Buffer Zones against their northern rivals____Russians and Ex-Soviets. Hence, people of Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir are legally bound to decide their future independently.

Furthermore, Kashmir remained a part of Indian continent before British occupation, whereas Gilgit-Baltistan never remained a part of Indian continent. Only British occupationists forcibly turned it into its part. Therefore, people of Gilgit-Baltistan are not bound to merge either with India or Pakistan.

Thus, correct political solution of Gilgit-Baltistan issue after defeating the evil spirits of Great Gamblers evolves into the noblest human value____the right of freedom and independence recognized in United Nations Organization's human rights charter and demanded by Nationalist Raja Shah Rais in 1947.

Not because of the simple incident that Raja Shah Rais some fifty years back demanded National Identity____ a man's social awareness about his land, his history and his collective life pattern____and hence independence for the people of Gilgit-Baltistan or it is a just humanitarian issue justified in UNO charter. But because of the undeniable historical evidence that the people of Gilgit-Baltistan have made their appearance on the globe as a human

collective body with distinctive cultural trends. The Burusho ethenic group whose language " has not been fully established as yet where to it belongs genetically" ²¹⁶ is such an evidence.

This group which survives in these mountains and did so beyond these mountains in the past substantially proves to claim national identity of their own type in the distant past: " Though Burushaski shows some typological and lexical affinity with both Basque and the Caucasion languages (for a discussion with reference, see Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 11 ff), there seems to be some cultural connections with Northern or Northeastern Asia as well (cf. Jettmar 1975, 1980). Archaeologically, the (original) Burushaski-speakers have some-times (cf. Parpola 1974:92) been connected with the Kashmir neolithic at the type site Burzahom from the middle of the third millennium to the late second millennium B.C., which shows many affinities with the (near-) neolithic cultures of South Siberia and north (west)ern China (Allchin and Allchin 1968:158 ff). But the typonymy, vocabulary and phonological and grammatical structure of the present language of the Kashmir valley shows comparatively little affinity with Burushaski.....

Whatever the northern extensions of the

²¹⁶. Page: 193, The Image of India, by G. Bongard-Levin and A.Vigasin, Progress Publishers, Moscow--1984

Burushaski-speaking area, the fact that it must have extended further south than it does now is revealed by the toponymy and linguistic and cultural substratum in the Shina-speaking area in Gilgit, possibly also in Baltistan and Kohistan. There are indications that Burushaski-speakers were present in the ancient multilingual state of Bolor (5th to 8th centuries), which stretched from Baltistan (Great Bolor) to at least as far as Gilgit (little Bolor) in Dardistan (cf. Jettmar 1980)".²¹⁷

The way Finnish 'Social Scientist' proves the national identity of mountain peoples through scientific investigation of a distinctive cultural trend (the unrelated Burushaski language) is boldly clarified by another eminent 'Social Scientist' _____. The German Karl Jettmar. Summarising the political history of all the ethnic groups living in Gilgit-Baltistan he informs that "In times when the lowlands were under the sway of invaders, the mountain peoples could preserve their traditions and soon regained liberty after hostile invasions. Without weapons and the organization of a great empire, it would have been impossible to conquer them. Even the local rulers had to be very careful in imposing their dominions before they had the backing of the British power. So there is a very long tradition of

²¹⁷ Page: 304-305 Studia Orientalia, Edited by (Bertil Tikkanen) The Finnish Oriental Society. Volume. 64, Helsinki 1988.

freedom in the Northern Areas which equally demands the respect of modern government."²¹⁸

No doubt the people of the mountains have been unable to administer a compact "Political State" all the time due to geographical restraints, which forced to freeze social evolution. Yet they have never been without a historically known "State" in the past. Dr. A.H. Dani, the 'Asian Social Scientist' while investigating the political pattern that shaped under geographical obstacles in this area unambiguously supports the previous conclusions drawn by European 'Social Scientists': "Although the land has been cut away from the rest of mankind most of the year by snow-capped ranges, yet the people have never been isolated. Hemmed in by great states on all sides, the people devised their own schemes to save themselves from the hands of imperial powers and build an independent pattern of life of their own." In this build-up local geography stood in the way of unitary cultural development. Lack of easy communication between one valley and another led to multiple cultural systems and this multiplicity dominated the course of historical evolution. Survivals of old cultural features are yet another characteristic of the land. The people, in their aloofness, have preserved many lost cultural trends of mankind. It is in the discovery of these trends that

²¹⁸ Page: 87, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, by Dr. A.H. Dani, Islamabad 1989.

one may find solution to some of the missing links that are visible in the advanced societies of the neighbouring areas. One thing is certain, these people have never been separated for long from the civilized world. They have always felt the impact of the Asian drama of history. It will be wrong to say that they have been only at the receiving end. Their interaction with the surrounding areas shows sufficient exchange of men and material and keeps up the ebb and flow of historical currents. And yet the land has its own peculiarities, for which the scholars have tried to find a name. For long in modern historical works they have been dubbed under Dardistan. In the ancient and medieval history the land bore the appellation of Bolor, from which some modern writers have deduced the geographic term of Baluristan".²¹⁹

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²¹⁹ Page: 408-409, Dr. A.H. Dani, History of Northern Area of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1989.
